

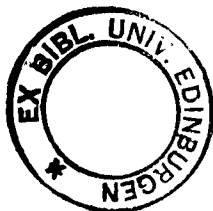
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THESIS - "Irenaeus and the Fourth Gospel:
The Value of his Testimony".

by

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IRENÆUS and the FOURTH GOSPEL: The VALUE of ~~the~~^{his} TESTIMONY.

Introduction.

The principal factor in the external evidence for the authorship of the Fourth Gospel is the testimony of Irenæus. As a rule this is recognised by writers on the subject, but for the most part their treatment is inadequate. Writers of New Testament Introduction or of commentaries on the Fourth Gospel have little space to spare for a proper examination of the evidence, and usually content themselves with a brief summary constructed in accordance with their bias for or against the Apostolic authorship. Moffatt, for example, ("Introduction to Literature of N.T.") comes to the Irenæus' evidence with his mind already made up as to its falsity. "If these deductions from the Papias-traditions are correct, the later testimony of Irenæus must be erroneous" (p. 608). And so, having accepted the so-called Papias-tradition of the early martyrdom of the Apostle John, he finds little difficulty in disposing of Irenæus as misinformed or mistaken.

Since Lightfoot's discussion of the Irenæus' evidence in "Essays on 'Supernatural Religion'" and "Biblical Essays (II)", the fullest and most thorough treatment of the whole question is to be found in Harnack, Chronologie 1, pp. 320 - 358, 379 - 388, 656 - 700; and Zahn, Forschungen VI, pp. 53 - 157, 175 - 217; and every subsequent investigator must acknowledge a deep debt to their researches and critical acumen. There is further a valuable discussion of the evidence in F.G. Lewis. "The Irenæus Testimony to the Fourth Gospel", and a series of articles on some aspects of the question by Prof. H.A.A. Kennedy in the "Expository Times" Vol. XXIX. It might seem indeed as if little could be added to their findings; but in view of the statements of some recent writers on the problem of the Fourth Gospel, it must be evident that a fuller recognition of the value and importance of the Irenæus' testimony is still to be desired.

Materials for a life of Irenæus are very slender and consist mainly of scattered references in his writings. Harvey (cf. His edition of "Adversus Haereses") remarks on the correspondences of Irenæus' Scripture quotations with the Syriac Version and thinks he may have been a native of Syria. The evidence for this is very doubtful. cf. Lipsius (Dict. of Christian Biog. p.255) - Harvey's reasons for connecting with Syria inadequate; and Harnack, Chron. 1 p. 328 note 3.

The first glimpse we have of Irenæus is in his youthful association with Polycarp at Smyrna. From his earliest days he appears to have been an earnest student and deeply interested in the affairs/

affairs of the Church. Later we find him at Rome where he remained for an unknown period, and continued his studies, possibly under Justin Martyr. Some years later, perhaps, he crossed over to Gaul, and in course of time came to the front in the service of the Church there. He was chosen as the bearer of a letter from the Martyrs of Gaul to Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome (a letter which pays a tribute to his worth, cf. Eusebius H.E. v42). Thereafter he returned to Gaul as Bishop of Lyons in succession to the martyred Pothinus, and laboured there until his death, (somewhere about 200 A.D.).

He was a zealous defender of the Christian faith and of true Apostolic doctrine and tradition against all opponents; and in particular he attacked the heretical teachings of the great Gnostic sects.

Of his various writings there have come down to us, besides important fragments in Eusebius (Letters to Florinus and to Victor), the five books of his great work "Adversus Haereses", and also an Armenian translation (recently discovered) of his "Demonstration of Apostolic Preaching".

All available testimony confirms the impression made by his writings themselves that he was a man of lofty character and aims, a seeker after the truth, and a lover of peace in the Church; one whose statements deserve a respectful hearing, and whose good sense and sincerity are manifest on every hand. Close contact with the life of the Church, attachment to such teachers as Polycarp, Justin, Pothinus, keen interest in the history and progress of Christianity from Apostolic times, mark him out as likely to prove a competent witness on questions of Church opinions and beliefs on the origin of the Gospels. (cf. Lightfoot, Bib. Essays p. 79.)

Some writers are fond of seizing on a single passage from Ad. Haer. (III 118f.), and holding it up as typical of Irenaeus, for the purpose of disparaging his evidence. Cf. J.H. Wilkinson, "Four Lectures on The Early History of the Gospels". p.63 "That he (Irenaeus) took a very naive view of the problem presented by the existence of our gospels, comes out in the fact that he gravely argues, "Four regions, four winds, four gospels as four pillars".

Cf. Schmiedel, Ency. Bib. II 2550, and "The Johannine Writings" Part II Chap. I. § 17. "Such was the idea of so distinguished a person as Irenaeus; when it was a question of deciding whether the Fourth Gospel was composed by John the Apostle, he took his stand on the fact that the quarters of heaven and the chief winds are four in number Surely we are justified in practically ignoring the proof which a person of this stamp brings forward to show that such and such a person was the author of a book/

book in the New Testament". Rather are we justified in ignoring a critic who so completely misunderstands the argument he tries to ridicule!

Cf. B.W. Bacon, "The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate", makes such references to Irenaeus as (p. 44) "anything but an accurate scholar". p.53. "his usual unscholarly method" "Irenaeus an unscholarly plagiarist and polemic". p.266 "As scholar Irenaeus is open to the most serious charges of blundering, exaggeration, plagiarism, misrepresentation". p.267 "as historian and scholar Irenaeus was not a trustworthy leader".

Such wild and unfounded charges are liable to return on their author; and indeed they may be applied not inappropriately to Bacon's own work on the Fourth Gospel!

The serious mistake such critics make is in supposing that Irenaeus was bringing forward arguments to prove the authorship or the authority of the Fourth Gospel. It was not the Gospel but the Gospels he was defending. And if the structure he rears at this point in the course of illustrating his argument is somewhat flimsy, at least it rests on a solid foundation. There are four Gospels; and Irenaeus is simply seeking types and figures of the fourfold Gospel, which the Church has already accepted. Cf. Lightfoot, B.E. p.78. "He (Irenaeus) ransacks heaven and earth for reasons why the evangelical record should thus be foursquared", - which Bacon renders (p.78) "Irenaeus literally 'compasses heaven and earth' to find an argument against those who denied the apostolic authorship".

It may be well perhaps at the outset, in view of these and similar attacks on the credibility of Irenaeus, to draw up a list of the various errors and extravagances and peculiarities to be found in his works. The following list contains all that are worthy of notice:-

<u>Ad. Haer.</u>	
II. 22 ³	"The son of the <u>centurion</u> " (<u>John 4</u> ⁵⁰ cf. <u>Matt. 8</u> ¹³).
II. 22 ⁵	The <u>Age of Jesus</u> . Cf. " <u>Demonstration of Apostolic Preaching</u> " § 74. (See below <u>h.s.r.</u>)
II. 24 ⁴	<u>Omission of John from Jairus' house</u> . (cf. III 12 ¹⁵ <u>Correct Version</u>).
Exposition II 31 ² , 32 ⁴	The <u>dead raised</u> - frequently in the brotherhood - " <u>remained among us for many years</u> ".
III 1 ¹	Luke recorded the Gospel preached by <u>Paul</u> . (cf. III 14 ¹ .)
III 11 ^{8f}	The <u>four Gospels</u> - <u>four winds</u> - <u>four cherubim</u> , &c.
III 12 ¹⁵	Reference to Peter, <u>James</u> , and <u>John</u> - supposed by some to involve a confusion with James, the Lord's brother. A careful reading of the whole passage will show that there is really no confusion in Irenaeus' mind. <u>This is not an error</u> . (cf. <u>Lewis</u> , op. cit. p.22).

- III 16⁴ The Infant Jesus arranges the massacre of infants at Bethlehem!
- III 16⁷ Mary, the Mother of Jesus, at Cana, urging Him on to perform the miracle, being desirous before the time to partake the cup of emblematic significance.
- III 16⁸ 2nd John is quoted as if from the 1st Epistle.
- III 20⁴ Spurious verse quoted from Isaiah. (cf. IV 22¹ Same verse is from Jeremiah)
- III 22⁴ Peculiar notion that Adam and Eve, when created, were not at the age of maturity.
- IV 6¹ Quotes Matt. II²⁷, Luke 10²²; and says that Mark also has this passage.
It is not in our copies of Mark.
- IV 20¹² Rahab received the three spies. (type of the Trinity!)
- IV 31¹ Lot's two daughters as types of the two Churches (Jew and Gentile).
- V 13¹ The deceased daughter of the high priest - Jairus. (Cf. I 8² correctly describes him as "the ruler of the synagogue".)
- V 29² Curious types of the Beast (666) - Noah and Nebuchadnezzar.
- V ~~33~~³³ Millenium - extravagant literalisms &c.
- V 36² Paradise, &c, - Gradation - "many mansions". (cf. Dem. A.P. § 61).

Dem. Ap. Pr. § 71. Shadow of Jesus (Acts 5¹⁵). Moffatt makes too much of this slip when he says that Irenaeus "confuses Peter and Jesus". (cf. Int. N.T. Lit. p. 609).

Many of these are minor errors scarce worthy of notice; some of them are trifling slips of memory, and are found in correct form in other parts of the work, showing that they were but temporary lapses. We must remember that Irenaeus had not our facilities for finding quotations or verifying references. (cf. An instructive note by Stanton "The Gospels as Historical Documents" I, pp. 22 ff. on "The Form of Ancient Books as affecting Habits of Quotation".)

Other peculiarities were common to his age; and when we contrast his mild flights of fancy with the amazing speculations of the Gnostics whom he refutes (themselves men of learning and ability), we shall be impressed with his common sense. He has comparatively little of extreme allegorizing; and he waxes sarcastic on the wonderful arguments derived by the heretics from numbers, &c. (Ad. Haer. II 24.) cf. C.E. Raven "What think ye of Christ?" (p. 56) has some wise remarks on the danger of judging an ancient writer by our modern standards (though he seems to forget his own caution when he refers to "stupid Churchmen, like Irenaeus", p. 64).

There/

There is nothing then in any of the errors adduced which would lead us to doubt or to disregard the testimony of Irenaeus; and there is everything on the other side to impress us with his learning, ability, and fairness in argument. We need only instance his high regard for Scripture, and his wisdom in its interpretation (cf. Ad. Haer. II 27); e.g. his expounding of the meaning of the "we" sections in the "Acts of the Apostles", as revealing the presence of Luke the author as an eye witness (Ad. Haer. III 14¹).

The only serious error which calls for fuller consideration is that in Ad. Haer. II 22⁵ on the Age of Jesus.

The question of the age of Jesus and the length of His ministry was sure to be discussed among the Christians in Asia in the latter part of the 1st century. The seeming discrepancy between the Synoptic and Johannine accounts, apart altogether from the views of the heretics, would create a natural interest and lead to an appeal to the Apostles. The question here is not between written and oral testimony, but between the Synoptic account on the one hand, and the Fourth Gospel and "the Presbyters" on the other. From the Synoptics one naturally supposes that the Ministry of Jesus lasted for one year. A ministry of two or three years could not be deduced from the Synoptic account alone, but is not inconsistent with it. Similarly a ministry of five or six years is not inconsistent with the story of the Fourth Gospel.

The Christians of Asia, possessing the Synoptic Gospels (or one of them), learned from John that the ministry of Jesus was actually of longer duration than is there suggested. They appeal to the recollections of other Apostles or eye-witnesses, who confirm John's account. All the "presbyters" or disciples of the Apostles thus agree in testifying that the ministry of Jesus lasted for several years. This is all that Irenaeus asserts when he claims the two-fold witness of the Fourth Gospel and the "Presbyters" for his extension of the ministry of Jesus beyond the single year suggested by the Synoptic Gospels, and affirmed by his opponents, who lay stress on "the acceptable year of the Lord". The Gospel and the "Elders" affirm the same thing.

Irenaeus then (or Papias?) - (Note. There is good reason for ascribing to the Expositions of Papias the reference here to the "Elder" traditions.) - on the strength of his view of Jesus' life as a sanctifying of every age of humanity, affirms that the ministry of Jesus was even longer than there stated; and in support of his claim he interprets John 8⁵⁷ as a proof that Jesus was even over forty years of age. This opinion seems peculiar to Irenaeus, and has behind it, so far as we can judge, the authority neither of Gospel nor of Apostolic tradition.

Cf. F.C. Conybeare (Expositor, July 1907) "Harnack rightly points/

points out that the writer of the Fourth Gospel must himself have believed that Jesus attained the age of 46. cf. John 221". This is very improbable. At any rate Irenaeus had no such thought of John 220f, for he makes no use of the passage here in treating of the age of Jesus; and takes no such meaning out of it when he has occasion to refer to it later on. (cf. Ad. Haer. V 62.)

Moffatt refers to these traditions as (op. cit. p.610) "fantastic inferences from the Johannine literature itself". But says also (p.609) that neither John 220 nor 857 "is responsible for the extraordinary exegetical blunder of Irenaeus or his authorities".

Elsewhere Irenaeus says (Ad. Haer. III 21³.) "Our Lord was born about the 41st year of the Emperor Augustus". (Caesar was murdered 44 B.C.) And in Ad. Haer. IV 22² he refers to the coming of Christ (i.e. the beginning of His ministry) as "in the time of Tiberius Caesar".

Evidently Irenaeus starts from Luke's account of Jesus as beginning His ministry at the age of 30; and in order to reconcile this with his belief that Jesus lived more than 40 years (derived from John 857 or from tradition), he has to allow for a prolonged ministry of 10 or 12 years. That this was no passing fancy on his part is apparent from his statement in Dem Ap. Pr. § 74. that the Crucifixion took place under Claudius Caesar (who did not become Emperor until A.D. 42). Irenaeus was evidently unaware of the fact, (or had forgotten it), that Pontius Pilate was recalled from Judaea under Tiberius; and so he simply makes his calculation which brings him to Claudius. He rests on no authority or tradition here.

cf. J. Rendel Harris (Expositor, March 1907) "It will be very difficult, in view of the known procuratorship of Pontius Pilate under Tiberius, and his subsequent recall, to trust Irenaeus in any matter that requires the exercise of the historical sense; for if chronology is one of the eyes of history, he has deliberately put that eye out".

cf. F.C. Conybeare (Expositor, July 1907) "Irenaeus' ignorance, if it be such, of so well-known a fact is extraordinary; and goes far to shake our faith in his testimony to any historical fact whatever". (cf. Moffatt op. cit. p.611).

These judgments are far too hasty and sweeping, and are not warranted by the facts of the case. The date of Pilate's recall was not a matter of great interest or importance such as would fix itself in the public mind. Irenaeus is maintaining a position which he knows to be challenged; and he marshals his arguments to establish his case, in complete ignorance of the one fact that was fatal to his view of the chronology. His sincerity and his judgment are not in question.

Irenaeus/

Irenaeus is certainly mistaken in his view; but it is easy to see how the error has arisen. John and other Apostles would inform their hearers as to the age of Jesus when he began His ministry. They may have stated that He was certainly several years beyond 30, although Luke (3²³) had referred to Him as "about /30 years of age". From such information (which modern investigation has confirmed) the opinion of Irenaeus as to the age of Jesus might readily be derived; and on that opinion he builds up his chronology. (cf. Bacon (op. cit. p.407) thinks that Jesus was between 40 and 50, and that such was the older Palestinian view, and nearer to historical fact than the Lukan. It may be so; but the authorities are wanting.)

We have dwelt at some length on this point, because it is the only one which seems to afford ground for questioning the reliability of Irenaeus' testimony. In reality it in no way impairs his evidence. His error is a natural one, and easily explained. It does not affect the testimony of the Asiatic "Elders" from John: It is of a completely different character from the witness afforded by Irenaeus' writings to the Fourth Gospel; and it leaves us free to test that witness by itself, and to accept it as authoritative according as it approves itself to our judgment. (cf. Church Quarterly Review, Vol. LX p.89).

We conclude this preliminary survey by a reference to the esteem in which Irenaeus was held by his contemporaries, and to the favourable reception of his great work by the Church. cf. Hippolytus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Epiphanius, &c. (cf. Montgomery Hitchcock, "Irenaeus of Lugdunum" p.16 and pp.39f.; Harnack, History of Dogma, II p.237, note 2.) Modern scholars find this impression confirmed by a study of the writings of Irenaeus. Harnack notices his "sure historical recollection" (H.D. II p.27, note 2.); Zahn (in Herzog Ency.) speaks of Irenaeus' "clearness of thought" and "painstaking accuracy". See "Foreward" by Swete to Montgomery Hitchcock's "Irenaeus of Lugdunum"; also pp. 343 - 346. Cf. Armitage Robinson's Introduction to "Demonstration of Apostolic Preaching"; Rainy, "Ancient Catholic Church" pp.180 ff.; Kennedy, Expository Times XXIX p. 312.

Lack of space alone prevents us from quoting some of the high tributes paid to Irenaeus by men who have made close study of his works, and who testify to his common sense and ability, as well as the carefulness and general reliability of his writings.

We remark throughout his works how he prides himself on his connection with the Catholic Church and his inheritance of the Christian tradition, and claims to be in the Apostolic succession and to be voicing the opinions and testimonies of the whole Church.

The result of our survey is to leave us with a general impression of the truthfulness and fairness of Irenaeus, and his excellent opportunities of acquiring knowledge of Church affairs; and we come to our study of his testimony on the Fourth Gospel with some assurance that our author is both competent and trustworthy.

(Note on the Text. The Version of "Adversus Haereses" which we possess is an early Latin translation. The Latin is barbarous, but on that account is an all the more literal rendering of the original Greek. Cf. Lipsius (D.C.B. p.256) "the slavish literalism with which the translator represents the Greek words before him imparts to this version a very high value".

Cf. Burkitt (J.T.S. Oct. 1923, p.60) "The Latin translation of Irenaeus is no doubt very faithful, but there are some indications that the influence of the biblical text upon the translator now and then went beyond the choice of synonyms". ... This very occasional, and occurred chiefly in well-known passages. cf. (p.63) "So closely indeed did he follow the Greek before him that it is difficult to fix his date or his country".

Cf. Montgomery Hitchcock, (op. cit. pp.347 - 358)

Besides isolated portions preserved in Eusebius, the greater part of Books I and II is to be found in Greek in the works of Hippolytus and Epiphanius. There is also a recently discovered Armenian Version of Books IV and V.

Among editions of the Greek and Latin texts are those of Massuet, Stieren, and Harvey. Questions of text scarcely enter into such a study as this; and the writer has thought it best to refer generally to the English translation in Clark's Ante-Nicene Library. On all the critical passages Stieren's edition has been consulted, and occasional reference is made to it in the course of the investigation.)

The Testimony of Irenaeus to the Fourth Gospel.

A careful examination of the testimony of Irenaeus to the Fourth Gospel leads to the conviction that his evidence must be treated as a whole. It might be easy to take each reference by itself, and show how slight is its weight in any argument, or how uncertain its meaning and questionable its authority. But when the various isolated statements and casual allusions are brought together, then each throws light on the other, confirming its witness or interpreting its meaning, so that there emerges a clear account of the opinions of Irenaeus, and, as we hope to show, a strong body of proof that these are based on reliable and apostolic authority.

It is proposed to treat the evidence under the following heads:-

- I. Extent of the Testimony. { 1. Quotations, and References to Fourth Gospel.
2. Notices of author or authority behind the Fourth Gospel.
- II. Nature of the Testimony.
- III. Sources of the Testimony.
- IV. Weight of the Testimony. { (1. The Church.
(2. The Heretics.
- V. Difficulties of the Testimony. { (1. External.
(2. Internal.
- VI. Value of the Testimony. (Summary of results).

I. The Extent of the Testimony:-

1. Quotations from or references to the Fourth Gospel in the writings of Irenaeus:-

Tables containing the references to Irenaeus' quotations from or allusions to the Fourth Gospel are given in Lewis (op. cit. Chap. 1.); and in view of his presentation of the evidence, the writer has thought it best to give the references in the order of the Gospel narrative.

The references to the Fragments contained in the English translation (Vol. II) are given in brackets.

The/

The Fourth Gospel."Adversus Haereses".

- Chap. I.
1. In the beginning was the Word, I 8⁵, III 11¹, &c.
and the Word was with God, *and the Word was God.*
 2. The same was in the beginning
 3. with God. All things were
made by Him, and without Him
 4. was nothing made. *What was (*So punctuated).
 5. made was life in Him, and the
life was the light of men. And
the light shineth in darkness,
and the darkness comprehended
it not.
 6. There was a man sent from God, III 11⁴,
whose name was John.
 - m7. The same came as a witness,
that he might bear witness of
 8. that Light. He was not that
Light, but (came) that he might
 9. testify of the Light. This was
the true Light who enlighteneth I 9².
 10. every man. He was in the world
 11. and the world knew Him not. He III 11², V 18².
came unto his own (things), and
 12. His own (people) received Him
not. However, as many as did
receive Him, to these gave He
power to become the sons of God
to those that believe in His
~~name~~ name.
 13. He (the Word) was born*, not by III 16², 19².
the will of the flesh, not by
the will of man, but by the
will of God. (* ἐγεννήθη).
 14. And the Word was made flesh,
and dwelt among us; and we I 8⁵, &c.
beheld His glory, the glory as
of the only-begotten of the
Father, full of grace and truth.
 15. John made known, saying, 'This III 10³.
is He of whom I said, After me
cometh a man who was made
before me; because He was
prior to me'.
 16. And of His fulness have all we
received.
 18. No man hath seen God at any
time; the only begotten Son III 11⁶, &c.
of God, which is in the bosom
of the Father, He hath declared
(Him).
 29. (John's witness) 'Behold the III 10³.
Lamb/

The Fourth Gospel."Adversus Haereses".

- Chap. I. 29. Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world'.
 47. To Nathanael the Lord bare witness that he was 'an Israelite indeed, in whom was no guile'. III 11⁶.
 49. The Israelite (Nathanael) cried out to Him, 'Rabbi, Thou art the Son of God, Thou art the King of Israel'.
 50. (As also the Lord said to His disciples) 'Ye shall see greater things than these'. IV 9².
Chap. II. 1ff. The water made wine at the marriage (in Cana). II 22³, III 11⁵.
 3 - 4. The Lord, checking Mary's untimely haste, said, 'Woman, what have I to do with thee? Mine hour is not yet come'. III 16⁷.
 19. The Lord speaks, 'Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up'. He V 6².
 21. spake this, however, it is said, of the temple of His body.
 13, 23 (After the miracle at Cana) II 22³.
 He went up to the festival day of the passover, (on which occasion it is written) 'For many believed in Him, when they saw the signs which He did'.
 25. He needed not that any should testify to Him of man, for He Himself knew what was in man. III 9³
Chap. III 5. Except a man be born again through water and the Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. (Frag. XXXIV)
 14 - 15 Men can be saved in no other way from the old wound of the serpent than by believing in Him who is lifted up. IV 2⁷.
 18. He that believeth in Me is not condemned. He that believeth not is condemned already, because he has not believed in the name of the only-begotten Son of God. For this is the condemnation, that light is come into this world, and men have/
 19. Son of God. For this is the condemnation, that light is come into this world, and men have/

The Fourth Gospel."Adversus Haereses".

- Chap. III 19. have loved darkness rather
 20. than light. For every one
 who doeth evil hateth the
 light, and cometh not to the
 light, lest his deeds should
 21. be reprov'd. But he that
 doeth truth cometh to the
 light, that his deeds may be
 made manifest, that he has
 wrought them in God.
 36. He that believeth in Him has IV 37⁵.
 eternal life; while he who
 believeth not the Son hath not
 eternal life, but the wrath of
 God shall remain upon him.
- Chap. IV. 3, 4, Withdrawing Himself (from
 7 ff. Judaea), He is found in Samaria; II 22³.
 on which occasion, too, He con-
 versed with the Samaritan woman.
 6. But Jesus, being wearied with III 22².
 the journey, was sitting (to
 rest).
 14. He gives to those who believe on IV 36⁴.
 Him a well of water (springing
 up) to eternal life.
 15, 18 That erring Samaritan woman - III 17².
 many marriages &c.
 24. We must worship God in spirit
 and in truth. Frag. XXXVII.
 35. Behold, I say unto you, Lift up IV 23¹.
 your eyes, and look upon the
 districts, for they are white
 36. to harvest. For the harvest-
 man receiveth wages, and gathereth
 fruit unto life eternal, that both
 he that soweth and he that may
 rejoice together.
 37. For in this is the saying true,
 that one soweth and another reap-
 38. eth. For I have sent you forward
 to reap that whereon ye bestowed
 no labour; other men have laboured,
 and ye have entered into their labours.
 40 - 41. And many more Samaritans, it is IV 27⁷.
 said, when the Lord had tarried
 among them two days, believed
 because of His words, and said to
 42. the woman, Now we believe, not
 because of thy saying, for we
 ourselves have heard (Him), and
 know that this man is truly the
 Saviour/

The Fourth Gospel."Adversus Haereses"

- Chap. IV. 42. Saviour of the world.
50. And while at a distance, cured the son of the centurion (*sic*) by a word, saying, 'Go thy way, thy son liveth'. II 22³.
- Chap. V, 1, 2, Afterwards He went up, the II 22³, 23².
5, 8, 9. second time, to observe the festival day of the passover in Jerusalem; on which occasion he cured the paralytic man, who had lain beside the pool thirty-eight years, bidding him rise, take up his couch, and depart.
14. The Lord said to the man who had been healed: 'Behold, thou art made whole, sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee'. IV 36⁶, V 15².
28. The house shall come, in which all the dead which are in the tombs shall hear the voice of the Son of man, and shall come forth, V 13¹.
29. those that have done good to the resurrection of life, and those that have done evil to the resurrection of judgment.
- { 35. (Of John the Baptist) Now the voice and the burning light were a precursor of the Word and the Light. Frag. XLVII. }
39. Ye search the Scriptures, in which ye think ye have eternal life; these are they which testify of Me. IV 10¹.
40. And ye are not willing to come unto Me, that ye may have life.
43. I have come in my Father's name, and ye have not received me: when another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive. V 25⁴.
46. If ye had believed Moses, ye would have believed Me, for he wrote of Me. IV 2³, 10¹.
47. But if ye believe not his writings, neither will ye believe My words.
- Chap. VI. 1, 4, Again, withdrawing from thence to II 22³.
5, 9, 11, the other side of the sea of
13. Tiberias, He there, seeing a great crowd had followed Him, fed all that multitude with five loaves of bread and twelve baskets of fragments remained over and above.
11. Taking the loaves ... and giving thanks. III 11⁵
- 69./

The Fourth Gospel."Adversus Haereses".

Chap. VI.	69.	Peter recognised Christ as the Son of the living God.	III 11 ⁶ .
Chap. VII	30.	Men desirous to take Him. No man laid hands upon Him, for the hour of His being taken was not yet come.	III 16 ⁷ .
	38 - 39.	The Spirit is the living water, which the Lord grants to those who rightly believe in Him.	V 18 ² .
Chap. VIII	34.	He that committeth sin is the slave of sin.	III 8 ¹ .
	36.	If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.	III 19 ¹ .
	44.	The devil is a liar from the beginning, and the truth is not in him. He is a murderer from the beginning, &c.	V 22 ² .
			V 23 ² .
Chap.	56.	Your father Abraham rejoiced that he should see My day; and he saw it,	IV 5 ³ , 7 ¹ .
	57.	and was glad. They answered Him, Thou art not yet fifty years old,	II 22 ⁶ .
	58.	and hast Thou seen Abraham? Before Abraham was I am.	IV 13 ⁴ .
	59.	So again did He ... pass through the midst of those who sought to injure Him.	Frag. LII.
Chap. IX.	1, &c.	Case of the man who was blind from his birth.	II 17 ⁹ .
	2.	When His disciples asked Him for what cause the man had been born blind, whether for his own or his parents' fault, He replied, 'Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents, but that the works of God should be made manifest in him'.	V 15 ² .
	3.	Wherefore also the Lord spat on the ground and made clay, and smeared it upon the eyes ... and said to him ...	
	6.	'Go to Siloam, and wash'. And ... when he was washed he came seeing.	V 15 ³ .
	14.	At Siloam did He perform cures upon the Sabbath.	IV 8 ² .
Chap. X.	8.	All others are thieves and robbers.	III 4 ¹ .
Chap. XI.	17.	Lazarus, who had lain four days in the tomb.	V 13 ¹ .
	25.	'I am the resurrection and the life'.	IV 5 ² .
	35.	He wept over Lazarus.	III 22 ² .
	43.	He called Lazarus with a loud voice,	V 13 ¹ .
	44.	saying, 'Lazarus come forth'; And he that was dead came forth bound with bandages, feet and hands And therefore/	

The Fourth Gospel."Adversus Haereses".

- Chap. XI. 44. therefore the Lord said,
'Loose him, and let him depart'.
47, 53f. When he had raised Lazarus from the dead, and plots were formed against him by the Pharisees, He withdrew to a city called Ephraim.
- Chap. XII. 1. 12. He came to Bethany six days before the passover, and going up from Bethany to Jerusalem.
27. Perplexity when He said, 'And what I shall say, *I know not'.
32 - 33. Who is lifted up from the earth upon the tree of martyrdom, and draws all things to Himself.
- Chap. XIII. 5. He washed the disciples' feet with His own hands.
10. He who washed the feet of the disciples sanctified the entire body, and rendered it clean.
- Chap. XIV. 2. 'In my Father's house are many mansions.'
6. 'I am the way, the truth, and the life: and no man cometh unto the Father but by Me. If ye had known Me, ye would have known My Father also: and from henceforth ye have both known Him, and have seen Him'.
8. The Lord replied to Philip, who wished to behold the Father, 'Have I been so long a time with you, and yet thou hast not known Me, Philip? He that sees Me, sees also the Father; and how ~~suggest~~ thou then, Show us the Father? For I am in (11) the Father, and the Father in Me'.
16.(&c) The Lord promised that He would send the Paraclete.
28. 'The Father', says He, 'is greater than I'.
- Chap. XV 9. Continuing in His love.
15. 'I will not now call you servants, for the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth; but I have called you friends, for all things which I have heard from my Father I have made known'.
- Chap. XV 16./
- II 22³.
II 22³.
I 8², (ὅτι οἶδα)
IV 2⁷.
IV 22¹.
III 19³, V 36².
IV 7³, (III 5¹)
III 13².
III 13².
V 18¹.
III 11⁹.
II 28⁸.
III 20².
IV 13⁴.

The Fourth Gospel."Adversus Haereses".

- Chap.XV. 16. 'Ye have not chosen Me, but I have chosen you'. IV 14¹.
- Chap.XVI 7. The Lord promised to send the comforter. III 17².
- Chap.XVII 5. 'Father, glorify Thou Me with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was'. IV 14¹.
12. Judas was called the 'son of perdition' by Him. II 20⁵.
- 15 & 16. In the world, and of the world. I 6⁴.
24. 'I will, that where I am, there they also may be, that they may behold My glory'. IV 14¹.
- Chap.XVIII 37. Is not of the truth, nor shall attain to the truth. I 6⁴.
- Chap.XIX, 11. Thus did He speak to Pilate: 'Thou shouldest have no power at all against Me, unless it were given thee from above'. IV 18³.
15. 'We have no King but Caesar'. IV 21³.
23. For at His crucifixion the soldiers parted His garments as they were wont; and the garments they parted by tearing; but for the vesture, because it was woven from the top and was not sewn, they cast lots, that to whomsoever it should fall he should take it. "Demonstration of Apostolic Preaching § 80.
24. And at His crucifixion, when He asked a drink, they gave Him to drink vinegar mingled with gall. Dem. A.P. § 82.
34. blood and water have issued from His pierced side. III 22², IV 32², 35².
- Chap.XX. 17. He said to Mary, who was the first to see and to worship Him, 'Touch Me not, for I have not yet ascended to the Father; but go to the disciples, and say unto them, I ascend unto My Father, and unto your Father'. V 31¹.
- { 22. So also did He breathe the Holy Spirit into His disciples. Fragment LII).
- ~~Chap.XX.~~ 24. The ten apostles to whom the Lord appeared after His resurrection - Thomas being absent. I 18³.
- 20, 25, 27. Christ pointed out to His disciples the mark of the nails and the opening in His side. V 7¹, 31².
- { 26. He entered without impediment through closed doors. Frag. LII)

The Fourth Gospel."Adversus Haereses".

- Chap. XX. 31. But these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have eternal life in His name. III 16⁵.
- Chap. XXI. 20. John, the disciple of the Lord, who also had leaned upon His breast, did himself publish a gospel (Verse 24).. The Word reminding him that it was He upon whose bosom he had leaned at supper, when he put the question as to who should betray Him. (cf. John 13^{23, 25}). III 1¹. IV 20¹¹.

Irenaeus quotes nearly one sixth of the Gospel, and from every chapter of it. He also gives a brief summary of its contents and chronology in reference to the Passovers mentioned (John 2¹³, 5¹, 6⁴, 13¹) Cf. Ad. Haer. II 22³.

The result of our study proves that Irenaeus possessed and employed the Fourth Gospel in the form in which we have it. Cf. Lewis (op. cit. p.16) "From the extent of Irenaeus' use of the fourth gospel, as seen in the above varied ways, we are warranted in concluding that he possessed substantially the same gospel which has come down to us, and that his text was not very different from the one which we read".

2. Notices of author or of authority behind the Fourth Gospel.

For Irenaeus the author of the Fourth Gospel is "John" (of Asia) a disciple of Jesus, whom Irenaeus (as we shall see) evidently identifies with the Apostle John, the son of Zebedee.

The name of "John" occurs more than fifty times in "Adversus Haereses" as the author of the 'Johannine' writings. He is also referred to as "the disciple of the Lord", "the apostle", and more frequently as "John, the disciple of the Lord".

The following are the references to John as the author of the Gospel, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse:-

Ad Haer.

- 1 8⁵. "John, the disciple of the Lord" (bis) 1, 2.)
expresses himself thus (Quotes John 1¹, 2.)
"John" (four times by name) - as author of the Fourth
Gospel.
- 1 9¹. "John" (as author of Gospel).
- 1 9². "John" (three times) - "the apostle".
- 1 9³. "The apostle" - "John" (once or twice. cf. Stieren,
note).
- 1 16³. "John, the disciple of the Lord". (quotes 2 John 11).
- 1 26³. "The Apocalypse of John".
- 11 2⁵. "John, the disciple of the Lord".
- 11 22³. "John, the disciple of the Lord".
- 11 22⁵. "John, the disciple of the Lord". - "John" (bis)
("Apostles").
- 111 1¹. "John, the disciple of the Lord". ("Who leaned on
His breast" -- published Gospel at Ephesus).
- 111 3⁴. "John, the disciple of the Lord". - "John" ("Apostles")
- 111 5¹. "Apostles" wrote Gospel (quotes Fourth Gospel)
- 111 8³. "John" - (quotes John 1³.)
- 111 11¹. "John, the disciple of the Lord" - "The disciple of the
Lord" (quotes Fourth Gospel)
- 111 11². "John" (quotes John 1¹⁰.)
- 111 11³. "The Lord's disciple" (Quotes John 1¹⁴.)
- 111 11⁷. (Gospel) "according to John".
- 111 11⁸. (Gospel) "according to John".
- 111 11⁹. "John's Gospel". (Gospel from "Apostles").
- 111 16^{1:2}. "Mind of Apostles" - "John" (bis) (Then Matthew)
- 111 16⁵. "John, the disciple of the Lord". (Quotes Gospel and
Epistle).
- 111 16⁸. "His disciple, in his Epistle".
- 111 21³. The tradition of the apostles - Peter, John, Matthew,
Paul, &C.
- 111 22². "John His disciple ... writing of Him" (John 4⁶)
- 1V 2³. "As John recorded in his Gospel" (5 46f)
- 1V 6¹. "John omits this passage" (Matt. 11²⁷.)
- 1V 10¹. "John does ... relate." (5 37f)
- 1V 14². "John declare in the Apocalypse" (1¹⁵),
- 1V 17⁶. "John, in the Apocalypse, declares" (5⁸),
- 1V 18⁶. "As John says in the Apocalypse" (11¹⁹)
- 1V 20¹¹. "John also, the Lord's disciple ... says in the
"Apocalypse" (1¹²).
"John could not endure the sight" (1¹⁷) "The Word
"upon whose bosom he had leaned at supper, &c."
(cf. John 21²⁰)
- 1V 21³. "John says in the Apocalypse" (6²)
- 1V 30⁴. "John the disciple of the Lord saw in the Apocalypse".
- V 18². "John also, the disciple of the Lord, bears witness"
(John 1¹) - "John said" (John 1¹⁴)

Ad Haer.

- V 26¹ "John in the Apocalypse indicated".
 V 28² "John ... described in the Apocalypse". "John says further".
 V 30¹ "Those men who saw John face to face bearing testimony" (author of Apocalypse)
 V 30³ "Apocalyptic vision ... seen ... Domitian's reign".
 V 34² "John says ... in the Apocalypse".
 V 35² "And in the Apocalypse John saw". "John, the Lord's disciple, says".
 V 33⁴ "Papias, the hearer of John, and a companion of Polycarp".
 V 36³ "John, therefore, did distinctly foresee" (in his vision)
(Fragment XXXVII "John also declares in the Apocalypse".)

Demonstration of

- Apostolic Preaching. § 43. "Wherefore also His disciple John ... says" (John 1¹¹)
 § 94. "As also His disciple John says" (John 1¹⁴)

(Note. Lewis (op. cit. pp. 13 - 15) gives in Table II the references in Irenaeus to the Fourth Gospel and its author; and on a review of the Table he makes the following comment:- (p. 15) "the reader will observe a change of usage during the progress of the work. In the early portion of his discussion Irenaeus attributed his quotations and references chiefly to "John", or to "John, the disciple of the Lord". Later there is more variety, as though his thought of the source of the gospel statements was changing and becoming unstable. In Book 5 he attributed the statements of the gospel almost entirely to "the Lord". The simplest conclusion is that his conception of Jesus had developed in the course of the composition of his apology and manifested itself in the selection of the titles for his authorities". (p. 16) "If the work did thus cover an extended period, he would easily come to feel that the gospel was more directly the product of Jesus himself, not as to its writing, but as to its source and authority".

There is no need for such an explanation. An examination of the quotations themselves would have shown that in the earlier part of his work Irenaeus happens to quote largely from the narrative of the evangelist, and so refers to John as the author. In his later books the quotations are mainly from the teaching of Jesus, ("the discourses of the Lord"), and, as embodying the actual words of the Master, they are quite naturally prefaced by the words "The Lord says".]

From the above references the following facts emerge:-

- (1) The author of the Gospel is John, the beloved disciple.

Cf./

Cf. III 1¹ "John, the disciple of the Lord, who also leaned upon His breast, did himself publish a Gospel during his residence at Ephesus in Asia".

(2) He is also the author of the Apocalypse.

Cf. IV 20¹¹ "John also, the Lord's disciple says in the Apocalypse ... John ... the Word reviving him ... upon whose bosom he had leaned at supper".

(3) And author of the 1st and 2nd Epistles.

Cf. III 16⁵ "John the disciple of the Lord says ..." (Quotes Gospel and Epistle. John 20³¹, John 21⁸ ff.)

III 16⁸ "His disciple in his epistle already mentioned ... says" (2 John 7 f) " ... And again ... in his epistle" (1 John 5¹).

I 16³. "John the disciple of the Lord ... says" (2 John 11.)

(4) The Fourth Gospel, the 1st and 2nd Epistles, and the Apocalypse are all therefore by the same hand according to Irenaeus, and their author is "John of Asia". The same "John" is also the teacher of Polycarp and of "the Elders" in Asia. (cf. III 34, II 22⁵, V 33³, Eusebius H.E. V 20, and 24.) He saw the Apocalypse during his exile in Patmos, and towards the end of Domitian's reign (96 A.D.) (Cf. V 30³, IV 20¹¹). He resided in Ephesus, where he was a revered teacher and the leading authority in the Church. There he wrote the Gospel (and Epistles) (cf. III 1¹) for the purpose of refuting and destroying the false teachings of Cerinthus and of the Nicolaitans (III 11¹). John lived to a great age, and died shortly after Trajan's accession (98 A.D.) (cf. II 22⁵, III 34), when he must have been at least ninety years old.

Such is the singularly natural and coherent account of this "John of Asia", pieced together from scattered references in Irenaeus. It is a highly probable story that the Apostle John left Jerusalem before 70 A.D., and found his way to Ephesus, one of the leading centres of the Christian Church. And apart from the question of the Fourth Gospel, there might be little difficulty in accepting the Irenaeus' tradition as a true record of the later life of the son of Zebedee.

We have said above that for Irenaeus the author of the Fourth Gospel is the Apostle John; but this statement is occasionally challenged, and requires to be substantiated.

Who then is this "John" who needs no introduction to Irenaeus' hearers/

hearers and readers? He is a man of the highest authority in the Church; continually appealed to as final arbiter; repository of Church tradition, its worship and life; evidently a personal disciple of Jesus; everywhere revered. Yet never a hint in any writing as to his origin, ~~his~~ history, the validity of his claim to rule in the Church! If he be John the Apostle, then all is clear. Everyone knew him. The Gospels and Acts, the treasured and authoritative books of the Church, bear witness to him. He alone needs no introduction. His authority is unquestioned, one of the closest disciples of Jesus; a leader in the Jerusalem Church from Pentecost. But if not, where are his credentials? Who is the "great unknown"?

Most scholars who deny the Apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel, yet freely admit that Irenaeus believed otherwise. Cf. Moffatt (op. cit. p. 609); Bacon, (op. cit. pp. 78, 101 f., 127, &c). Even Schmiedel admits that for Irenaeus the author is John, the son of Zebedee, though he thinks that Irenaeus mistook Polycarp's reference to John. Cf. Schmiedel, (op. cit. Part II Chap. 1. § 1). Cf. Ency. Bib. II 2506, 2510. "Irenaeus ... so deeply imbued with the belief that the Ephesian John was the Apostle".

[Schmiedel's arguments in "The Johannine Writings" are smooth but unconvincing. Cf. Part II, Chap. 1. § 3, where he dates "Acts" 105 - 130 A.D., and then uses the late date of Acts, together with a misunderstanding of Acts 20²⁹, to furnish his proof. His whole procedure reminds one of "Moses at the Fair!" Cf. §§. 1. 2, 4, 13. Irenaeus thought that the Apostle John wrote the Fourth Gospel. But that was because he mistook the "Presbyter" John for the Apostle; and the "Presbyter" was not the author of the Gospel.]

We proceed to the proof that for Irenaeus "John of Asia" is the Apostle.

A single reference to John as "the son of Zebedee" might have sufficed; but such is not forthcoming. No mention is made of Zebedee, for he was of no importance in Church history. Neither is the Apostle Peter referred to as "Bar-Jona".

Apart from John the Baptist and John Mark (with whom there is no possibility of confusion. Cf. Zahn, N.T. Introduction III p. 180; and Lewis, op. cit. pp. 17 f.), the only "John" of New Testament times is the son of Zebedee. He is called by Justin Martyr (Dial. §81) the author of Revelation; and with this opinion Irenaeus agrees. For if the latter had any other "John" in mind, then surely there would be some definition or indication. Readers of "Adversus Haereses" could form only one impression, which is what Irenaeus meant. There was no thought of confusion, no other John than the Apostle.

Again, all four Gospels were in use and established in Irenaeus' day. But the Synoptics plainly indicate that Jesus had only "the Twelve" at the Last Supper; i.e. only one John, the son of Zebedee. If others were there, some mention of the fact would/

would be made by Irenaeus or others.

The Fourth Gospel, says Irenaeus, was written by John who leaned on Jesus' breast, i.e. by the son of Zebedee.

Further, the "Appendix" of the Fourth Gospel was added and accepted as authoritative at a very early date. It is a question if the Gospel were ever current without the Appendix. But even on Bacon's theory of its late production at Rome (cf. op. cit. pp. 86 ff.), the Appendix was part of the Gospel before Irenaeus wrote (cf. Stanton, "The Gospels as Historical Documents", Part III pp. 22 - 27). But it expressly points to John, the son of Zebedee, as the beloved disciple and author of the Fourth Gospel. "Tentatively", says Garvie ("The Beloved Disciple", p. 216. Cf. Bacon, op. cit. pp. 31, 222). But certainly there was no question in Irenaeus' mind. All these lines of evidence agree. (cf. Stanton op. cit. Part I, p. 213).

Irenaeus' use of the term 'Apostle' corresponds to New Testament usage, i.e. sometimes in a narrow sense of "the Twelve" alone; sometimes more general. From this fact Garvie (op. cit. pp. 212 ff.) argues that we have no assurance that Irenaeus reckons John as one of "the Twelve"; he may use the title "Apostle" in its wider sense. Hence his evidence is not valid for this John being the son of Zebedee.

But while we admit that Irenaeus does observe the N.T. usage in this matter, it does not follow that we cannot count upon his use of the term in a definite sense in certain places. The New Testament uses the term "Apostle" in its narrow sense and in its wider; and we can distinguish the two. e.g. "The Twelve" are meant in Acts 12⁶, 1 Cor. 9^{1f}, 2 Cor. 11⁵, 12^{11f}. While elsewhere men like Barnabas, James, the Lord's brother, Silas, &c. are numbered with the Apostles. cf. Acts 14¹⁴, Gal. 1¹⁹, 1 Cor. 15⁷, Romans 16⁷, &c. So in Irenaeus, there are references where we can say with assurance that he is thinking of "the Twelve", and including the subject of his comments in the immediate circle of Jesus' Twelve disciples. e.g. Ad. Haer. I 27². "Apostles who have handed down the gospel to us". I 27⁴, "Discourses of the Lord and the Apostles". II 2⁶. "From the apostles themselves, and from the discourses of the Lord". II 21¹, "The Twelve Apostles". III 12¹, "filling up the number of the twelve apostles" (cf. Acts 11⁵ ff.) III 12⁵. Reference to John the Apostle with Peter in Acts.. &c. -

Cf. His references to Polycarp, where he seeks to establish the latter's close relation to Jesus and His Apostles (i.e. "the Twelve"). He claims for Polycarp acquaintance with apostles and disciples of Jesus; and it is significant that the one name he mentions is John. Others of the "Apostolic" circle known to Polycarp may have been disciples of Jesus though not of "the Twelve"; but surely the one singled out for mention by name is of the/

the Twelve Apostles. Note his use of the term "Apostles and others who had seen the Lord". If he knows of any apostles as Polycarp's teachers, he will choose one of them as the example he gives by name. (Ad. Haer. III 3⁴, Eusebius H.E. V 20, V 24.)

Burney. ("The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel", pp.139 - 142) ventures to question this, and tries to explain it away; and in this he has the support of Garvie (op. cit. pp.250 ff.) Garvie (p. 252) speaks of Burney's "very important contribution in regard to the evidence of Irenaeus". "He (Burney) shows that while Irenaeus describes Matthew, Peter, and Paul as Apostles, he never once so describes John, but only as disciple (p. 139)". Burney (pp.141 f) claims that in all his references to "John of Asia" Irenaeus meant the "Presbyter" John and not the Apostle. There is no ground whatever in the writings of Irenaeus for such a conclusion. (cf. Swete, J.T.S. Vol. XVII p. 375. "indirectly, however, he (Irenaeus) seems to class John with the Apostles").

The following references will show that Irenaeus certainly meant John the Apostle:-

1. Letter to Florinus. (Eus. H.E. V.20) Irenaeus contrasts the opinions of Florinus with the doctrines taught him by the Presbyters, the pupils of the Apostles. He then gives as an example of the Elders mentioned, Polycarp, and, as examples of the Apostles with whom Polycarp associated and from whom he learned the truth, he names John and the rest of those who had seen the Lord - "the eye-witnesses of the Word of Life". (This phrase certainly refers to the Fourth Gospel. Cf. Kennedy, Exp. Times, XXIX, p. 170; Garvie, op. cit. p. 212.) Irenaeus clearly suggests that John is an Apostle. Some of the "eye-witnesses", perhaps, were only disciples, and not of "the Twelve"; but surely the one mentioned by name would be an Apostle.

2. Letter to Victor. (Eus. H.E. V. 24) Irenaeus says that Polycarp continued to observe the customs in the manner in which they had always been observed by John the disciple of our Lord, and by other apostles with whom he had been conversant. John is one of the Apostles. Polycarp evidently knew and had heard some of the other Apostles (Andrew, Philip?); but John had survived the others, and Polycarp's association with John was longest and closest. The deepest impressions on his life were made by the life and teaching of the Apostle John in Asia, with whom he was contemporary for about 30 years.

3. Ad Haer. III 3⁴. Irenaeus describes Polycarp as "instructed by Apostles" - "appointed by Apostles in Asia Bishop of Smyrna" - and as always teaching "the things he had learned from the Apostles." Irenaeus then quotes a story about John which others (not himself) had heard from Polycarp; and he gives two instances of the horror against heretics on the part of "the Apostles and their disciples";:-
(1) John, the disciple of the Lord, shunning Cerinthus' company is the example of an Apostle.

(2)/

(2) Polycarp (John's disciple) denouncing Marcion is the example of a disciple of the Apostles.

Here is a twofold indication that John is an Apostle.

4. Ad Haer. III 3⁴. The Church at Ephesus, founded by Paul, and having John remaining among them permanently until the times of Trajan, is a true witness of the tradition of the Apostles.

John is certainly classed with Paul as an Apostle. John the Apostle is in Ephesus until the end of the 1st century.

5. Ad Haer. I 9^{1ff}. Irenaeus refers to "John" as the author of the Fourth Gospel - speaks of "Christ, the teacher of John" (I 92); and in the next sentence calls the author "the Apostle".

Cf. I 9³. The author of the Fourth Gospel is called "the Apostle", and referred to by name as "John" (twice, according to one version of the text).

Irenaeus has no hesitation in speaking of John as the Apostle.

6. Ad Haer. II 22⁵. Elders conversant in Asia with John, the disciple of the Lord, who remained among them up to the times of Trajan. "Some of them, moreover, saw not only John, but the other Apostles also".

John is reckoned as an Apostle.

The witness of "the Elders" is contrasted with that of "Ptolemaeus, who never saw the apostles, and who never even in his dreams attained to the slightest trace of an apostle".

7. Ad Haer. III 5¹. Scriptural proof furnished by apostles who wrote the Gospel, "pointing out that our Lord Jesus Christ is the truth (Cf. John 14⁶), and that no lie is in Him". "A lie has no fellowship with the truth, just as darkness has none with light". (Cf. 1 John I⁵⁶, 22¹, &c.)

The author of the Fourth Gospel is an Apostle.

8. Ad Haer. III 11⁹. "Gospels of the Apostles" ... "which have been handed down to us from the apostles". "The opinion of those men, therefore, who handed down the gospel to us, having been investigated, from their very fountainheads, let us proceed also to the remaining apostles" (i.e. "the Eleven" and Paul).

Irenaeus has reviewed the witness of the four Gospels, -
 (1) "Matthew the apostle" (III 9¹) (2) "Mark, the interpreter and follower of Peter" (III 10⁶) (3) "Luke, the follower and disciple of the apostles" (III 10¹, 14¹) (4) "John, the disciple of the Lord". (III 11¹).

The "fountainheads" of the Gospels are the Apostles, Matthew, Peter, Paul, and John. John, the author of the Fourth Gospel is therefore one of the Apostles.

9. Ad Haer. III 16¹. "I judge it necessary to take into account the entire mind of the apostles regarding our Lord Jesus Christ" ... III 16². "That John knew the one and the same Word of God ... I have sufficiently proved from the word of John himself". And Matthew, too, ...".

Irenaeus is vindicating the true doctrines of Christianity, and therefore goes back to the Apostles. John, the author of the Fourth Gospel is an Apostle.

10. Ad. Haer. III 21³. "... the tradition of the apostles. For Peter, and John, and Matthew, and Paul, ..."

Irenaeus names these Apostles first who are the authors or guarantors of the four Gospels. John is the Apostle.

These references clearly and abundantly prove that Irenaeus believed "John of Asia", the author of the Fourth Gospel, to be the Apostle John, the son of Zebedee; and that on occasion he had no hesitation in referring to him as "the Apostle" or as one of the Apostles of the Lord". Cf. Strachan (Dict. of Christ and Gospels p. 876) "Irenaeus is undoubtedly referring to the Apostle John".

Cf. Stanton. ("Gospels &c." I p. 213) "One or two critics have ventured to maintain that even Irenaeus is speaking here (III 1¹) of John the Elder. There ought never to have been a doubt that he means the apostle, the son of Zebedee."

Cf. Henry Latimer Jackson ("The Fourth Gospel and some Recent German Criticism", p. 44) "That he (Irenaeus) ... means the Apostle is allowed, and ought never to have been doubted". (Cf. pp. 52, 59)

Why then does he proceed to cast a shadow of doubt on it by stating that "the decisive word "Apostle" is missing" (p. 45)? Cf. pp. 51, 60, and "Again we dwell on the curious, it may be significant fact ... he is not designated as one of the Twelve Apostles" (p. 57). Cf. Westcott ("Canon of N.T." p. 352, note 1) "Yet he never calls him an Apostle".

This statement is echoed by others. Cf. Swete ("Apocalypse" p. CLXXVIII) "... it is certainly remarkable that in so many of the earliest references to him John of Asia is called 'the disciple', and not, expressly at least, the Apostle".

Cf. Anderson Scott (Expositor, Jan. 1907, p. 45) refers to obscure/

obscure hints such as ... "Irenaeus' steady refraining from calling 'John' an Apostle".

Cf. Burkitt ("The Gospel History and its Transmission", p.251) "It should be noted that Polycrates, like all the other early witnesses from Asia, avoids calling the Evangelist 'John the son of Zebedee', or 'John the Apostle'".

The evidence which we have adduced above from Irenaeus' own writings should suffice utterly to refute the implied inference, and show that Irenaeus never had the slightest doubt that John of Asia was the Apostle. It is true that he makes but small use of the term 'Apostle' in reference to John; but when it is shown that the "decisive" word is not wanting, we are then told that the word 'Apostle' is not decisive. (cf. Garvie op. cit. pp. 212 f.) The quotations from Irenaeus are certainly decisive.

It is easy to account for the fact that Irenaeus prefers to call John of Asia "the disciple of the Lord". Cf. Schmiedel (op. cit. Part II. Chap 1 § 4.) "Irenaeus himself says regularly in his book, when he means the Apostle John 'the disciple of the Lord', whereas for Paul he always uses the expression "Apostle". But Paul was only a disciple of Jesus in the wider sense of the term (which Irenaeus occasionally employs. Cf. V 26¹ where "the Lord's disciples" are the general body of Christians). Paul was not a "disciple" in the sense of the term which restricts its use to those who had companied with Jesus in the days of His flesh. "Apostle" included Paul who had no first-hand knowledge of Jesus' ministry. Irenaeus is appealing to the authority of the "eye witnesses of the Word". Hence John is the "disciple". It brings him nearer to Jesus; and it is to "the Lord" that Irenaeus appeals at every turn. (cf. Bacon, op. cit. pp. 175 f; Swete, J.T.S. Vol. XVII p. 372; Apocalypse p. CLXXV.)

Moreover "disciple" is the title John applies to himself in the Fourth Gospel. He is the disciple, "the disciple whom Jesus loved"; and by this tender and affectionate term he continues to be known in the Church.

Jackson ("The Fourth Gospel &c."), who is certainly impartial, in spite of his belief that Irenaeus does not call John an Apostle, is yet so satisfied that he means John the son of Zebedee that he says it "ought never to have been doubted" (p.44). Add to this our evidence shown above in refutation of Burney and Garvie, as to Irenaeus' use of the word 'Apostle', and his definite statements that John is of "the Twelve"; and we have abundance of proof that for Irenaeus the author of the Fourth Gospel is the Apostle John, the son of Zebedee. (cf. Zahn, Forsch, VI. pp 75 ff.)

With regard to the suggestion that for Irenaeus "John" was not the Apostle (cf. Stanton, op. cit. I p.213), we may note the emphasis laid e.g. by Moffatt (op. cit. pp. 609, 615) on Irenaeus' desire to establish the apostolic character of the Fourth Gospel.

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He does it with Mark through Peter (cf. Ad. Haer. III 1¹, 10⁶), with Luke through Paul (cf. III 11¹, 10¹, 14¹) But as with the first so with the Fourth Gospel, he holds the author to be an Apostle; and the author is John of Asia.

If Irenaeus knowingly substituted John the Apostle for the actual author, he would similarly have passed over Mark and Luke in favour of Peter and Paul; and the two subordinates might have receded to the background in the tradition of the Church.

Irenaeus might have made more definite statements that the John he alluded to as author of the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse ~~was~~^{was} the Apostle, the son of Zebedee. But then he had no idea of anything else, and no thought of being misunderstood. Nor was he misunderstood by his contemporaries. The careless casual references are a stronger proof of the certainty of Irenaeus as to the identity of John of Asia.

II. The Nature of the Testimony:-

We have seen how full and clear is the evidence from Irenaeus' own writings to the effect that he possessed the Fourth Gospel complete, and that he ascribed it to the Apostle John. Yet it must be plain to every reader that Irenaeus is not conscious that he is giving testimony as to the Gospel and its author. Nowhere is there a sign that such questions had ever occurred to him, or that he felt the need of making some definite statement on the subject. The evidence is there in full measure, but it is throughout, as it were, unconscious. We find it in the form of the simple natural unforced utterances of one who is merely stating the common accepted opinions and beliefs of the whole Church.

For example, we have only to look at the way in which Irenaeus first introduces a reference to the Gospel in the course of his writing. Cf. Ad. Haer. I 6⁴. In describing the opinions of the heretics, he quotes a distinction they make between those who are "in this world" and those who are "of this world", which echoes John 17¹⁴; and in this connection he speaks of being "of the truth" and "attaining to the truth". (cf. John 18³⁷)¹

Again in I 8² he quotes without comment the Valentinian version of John 12²⁷ "And what I shall say, I know not".

Then follows (I 8⁵) the first definite reference to the sayings of the Gospel as the work of "John, the disciple of the Lord"; and here again the quotations are from the writings of the heretics. The Valentines quoted the Fourth Gospel as by "John, the disciple of the Lord"; and Irenaeus tacitly acquiesces in this description. Cf. His correction of the heretical version of John 11⁴, "But what John really does say is this, &c." (I 8⁵).

Then in I 9^{1, 2} we have repeated mention of John as the author of the Gospel; but merely as a statement of fact, a passing allusion to the recognised authority of Scripture writers. In such almost careless haphazard way is the Gospel first referred to as a source of the truth, and its author named merely as a convenient title to use in quoting the Gospel, viz. "John says". And so through all the writings of Irenaeus there is no affirmation as to the origin of the Gospel, no "Johannine problem", no dubiety about the authorship of the Gospel or its authority. Everything is taken for granted.

This is a point which must be emphasized in the Irenaeus' testimony to the Fourth Gospel. It is of the utmost importance to recognise the kind of evidence which his writings afford, since its unstudied character makes it all the stronger and more convincing. If Irenaeus were meeting objection with argument, and seeking to build up a case for Apostolic authorship, we should have to reckon with the possibility of prejudice or bias influencing his statements/

statements, to examine his witness in the light of opponents' objections, and balance one with another before coming to a decision as to its value. His testimony, if marshalled as a body of proof, might require considerable toning down before we could be sure of its reliability. But as it is, on this matter at least, he and his heretical opponents are absolutely at one.

We direct special attention to this fact, because Bacon (op. cit) in criticising and rejecting the Irenaeus' testimony to the Fourth Gospel, rests his whole case on the controversial character of Irenaeus' references to the Gospel and its author. Again and again he refers to Irenaeus as if the latter's great purpose in writing "Adversus Haereses" were to prove the Apostolic origin of the Fourth Gospel; e.g. p. 76 "Irenaeus, passionate advocate of the Johannine authorship". (cf. pp. 28, 43f., 67, 78, 82 ff, 101 f, 221, 225 f., 227 ff.). To suit the purposes of his contention, Bacon dates the "Muratorianum" not later than 185 A.D. (p. 240); and he also ante-dates Gaius of Rome by about twenty or thirty years - (cf. pp. 101, 227 f. Cf. Eusebius. H.E. II 25⁶, and Moffatt, op. cit. p. 498 "Gaius, the Roman Churchman at the opening of the 3rd century".) - in order to provide a suitable opponent for Irenaeus in the great controversy.

There is not the slightest ground in Irenaeus' writings for Bacon's assertions, and he has drawn largely on his own imagination for his picture of the Johannine controversy of the 2nd century. (cf. Stanton, op. cit. III pp. 124 - 126). [It is indeed difficult to acquit Bacon of wilful misrepresentation, inasmuch as he was not ignorant of Drummond's account of the case. (cf. "Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel", pp. 73, 80); and further when his attention was specially directed to his mistake by Lewis (op. cit. note on pp. 41 f), he republished his misstatements in book form, and ignored the correction, dismissing Lewis' book in a single contemptuous sentence. (cf. Bacon, op. cit., note on p. 267)].

As Drummond has correctly indicated (op. cit. p. 73), "Irenaeus nowhere asserts that anyone denied the Johannine authorship of the Gospel. He always assumes the authorship, just as we assume that of any modern work. There is no evidence that he ever investigated the question, or supposed that there was any question to investigate".

Such then is the nature of the Irenaeus' testimony to the Fourth Gospel. It is casual, unstudied, without controversy, and with no other author or alternative view ever dreamed of. Irenaeus has never heard of any other source behind the Fourth Gospel than the Apostle John. He is here on common ground; and this fact makes his witness all the stronger and more worthy of acceptance.

III.

The Sources of the Testimony:-

The testimony of Irenaeus to the Apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel is clear and unequivocal; but on what authority does it rest? He is writing about 80 or 90 years after the death of the Apostle John, and has no first-hand acquaintance with the facts of the Gospel's origin. From whom then has he derived his knowledge and beliefs? And are his authorities such as command our respect, and compel us to accept their witness?

The principal sources of his information are as follows:- Polycarp, Justin Martyr, and "the Presbyters", including Papias and Pothinus; and we now turn to examine their evidence.

1. Polycarp.

The first of the authorities on whom Irenaeus relies for his knowledge of "John of Asia" and of the Fourth Gospel is Polycarp of Smyrna. Polycarp - the name itself recalls the Fourth Gospel - "Much fruit - My disciple" (John 15⁸) - was for many years Bishop of Smyrna, and by the middle of the 2nd century had come to be revered as a great Church leader, not only throughout Asia, but even at Rome. (Cf. Ad. Haer. III 34; Eusebius, H.E. V. 24.). He received a letter from Ignatius, which marks him out as even then (c. 110 A.D.) of considerable standing and worth (cf. Ignatius, "Letter to Polycarp", §§. 1, 2, 7). He himself wrote authoritative epistles to Churches and to individuals, of which we possess the letter to the Philippian Church. (Now accepted as genuine. Cf. Ad. Haer. III 34; "Demonstration, &c." § 95. Cf. Rendel Harris, Testimonies I 66) And the story of his martyrdom is told in the circular epistle of the Church of Smyrna, which shows him to be known even among the heathen as "The teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians".

The date of the martyrdom of Polycarp is now regarded as definitely settled for 155 A.D.; and in the account of the proceedings written by the Church of Smyrna we read (§ 9.) that when the proconsul asked him to "reproach Christ", Polycarp replied, "Eighty and six years have I served Him, and He has never done me the least wrong". Eighty-six years then, on his own testimony, is the length of Polycarp's Christian life; and it is usual to regard this as dating from his birth. Cf. Lightfoot, (Essays on "Supernatural Religion" pp. 90, 91.) - "he was born of Christian parentage". - ... "a believer from early childhood". [Parents perhaps taught by Paul or by Peter (cf. Acts 19¹⁰, 1 Peter 1¹) - During childhood and youth of Polycarp, influence of St. John paramount (Cf. Lightfoot, op. cit. p.92)].

This view of the meaning of Polycarp's words is not quite certain. They may imply that he became a Christian in 69 A.D. but that he had lived for a number of years (perhaps 10 or 12) before/

before that. (cf. Zahn Forschungen VI, pp. 97 ff.; Introduction to N.T., III p. 191). In either case it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that he was baptised by the Apostle John, and received from him that Christian name which promised so much. The "Martyrdom" makes repeated reference to his great age; and the words of Irenaeus (Ad. Haer. III 3⁴) - "He tarried a very long time, and, when a very old man ..." (*ἐπιπολὺν καὶ πάλιν γηραιός*. Latin. "vâlde senex") - emphasize his long life. With us, such expressions would suggest one well over ninety years; but Irenaeus is rather vague on the question of age, and even suggests that one is "too old at forty", or at least that he has by that time joined the ranks of the "seniores"! (Ad. Haer. II 22⁴, 5.)

If this view be correct, then Polycarp would be born by C.60, and might therefore have been, in actual fact, "by apostles in Asia appointed bishop of the Church in Smyrna" (Ad. Haer. III 3⁴, cf. Tertull de Praeser. Haer. 32). The possibility of this should be borne in mind, though it may not be used as a basis of argument. At any rate, this much is certain that for at least thirty years Polycarp was a contemporary of "John of Asia", the disciple of the Lord, who died about the close of the 1st century.

Of the nature of Irenaeus' association with Polycarp and his right to give testimony regarding him, we learn from the former's own writings, in which he makes three separate and highly important references to Polycarp of Smyrna. These now fall to be considered, in their bearing on the relations (1) of Irenaeus with Polycarp, and (2) of Polycarp with John.

1. Irenaeus and Polycarp.

According to Lightfoot (Sup. Rel. p.99) the earliest of the three references occurs in the Letter to Florinus, so fortunately preserved for us in the pages of Eusebius (H.E. V 20) (Harnack dates it c. 190) This brings us to one of the most keenly debated questions in the testimony of Irenaeus, viz. the length and nature of his intercourse with Polycarp, and his own age at the time of their association.

We have seen above (pp. 2 - 78) that some critics endeavour to weaken or nullify the evidence of Irenaeus by pointing to errors or foolish statements in his writings, and seeking to discredit him as stupid and unreliable; though in this they are not very successful. A more subtle and likelier mode of attack however is adopted ^{by them} who dwell on his inability to remember correctly things he had heard many years before, and also on his own extreme youth when he came into contact, and that but slightly, with Polycarp at Smyrna. (cf. Church Quarterly Review. Vol. LX, pp. 89 f.).

Two questions fall to be discussed - (1) The date of the birth of Irenaeus, and the date of his meeting with Polycarp. (2) The nature and length of their association at Smyrna.

(1) (Zahn dates Irenaeus' birth in 115 A.D.; Harnack dates it c.140. These are probably the extreme possible limits. Cf. Lipsius (D.C.B. "Irenaeus") and Gwatkin (Cont. Review, Feb. 1897) date it c. 130.)

What little light we have on the question of the age of Irenaeus at the time of his intercourse with Polycarp, is derived from his own statements in the Letter to Florinus and in Ad. Haer. III 3⁴.

In the former he says "While I was still a boy (παις), I saw you in Lower Asia, with Polycarp, ... &c."

Cf. Ad Haer. II 22⁴. The ages of man - Infancy, Childhood, Boyhood, Youth, Elder. Cf. II 22⁵. "The first stage of early life embraces thirty years, and that this extends onwards to the fortieth year, every one will admit". "Boyhood" for Irenaeus is therefore up to 30 years. (cf. Lightfoot, "Ignatius" I, 448.2 for examples of "παις" referring to 30 years.) By this expression of Irenaeus ~~(Ad. Haer. II 22⁴)~~ he might be anything from 15 to 30 years - (say 20 to 25) [cf. Bacon (op. cit. pp.151, 251, 255) speaks of Irenaeus "boyhood memories" of Polycarp. "He had been a "growing boy" at the time to which he refers" (p.251). But Irenaeus is speaking of mental growth, and was not necessarily so young as Bacon's words suggest.

Cf. Stanton, "Gospels &c.", I pp.215 f. - ~~17~~ 17 or 18 years old.
Cf. Kennedy, Exp. Times, XXIX, p.104 - 18 or 19.
Cf. Gwatkin, Cont. Review, Feb. 1897 - 18 or 20. □

The date of the meeting of Irenaeus with Polycarp must not be later than 154 A.D. (the year in which Polycarp visited Rome); and the age of Irenaeus at the time can hardly be less than 14. Hence we get C. 140 as the latest possible date for the birth of Irenaeus. (cf. Harnack Chron. I 328 ff. 656. Irenaeus born c. 135 - 142. Cf. Lipsius (D.C.B. "Irenaeus") - thinks 136 the latest possible date).

The earliest possible date is harder to discover. It depends further on such questions as the earliest possible date of his intercourse with Polycarp, the age of Florinus, the proper interpretation of the "royal court". For the last of these, no satisfactory explanation has been given. (cf. Zahn in Hertzog-Ency. Art. "Irenaeus" suggests Hadrian at Smyrna in 129. Lightfoot suggests Antonine in 136. &c.)

Florinus was evidently some years older than Irenaeus (Cf. Harnack Chron. I 379 - Florinus born c. 125 - 130). Harnack thinks "at least 10 to 15 years; probably more". Kennedy (Exp. Times XXIX p. 106) thinks 12 years. Gwatkin (Cont. Review, Feb. 1897) - 6 years. (Half-a-dozen years make all the difference between the boy and the young man out in the world and getting on.)

The other reference is in Ad. Haer. III 3⁴, where Irenaeus speaks of seeing Polycarp "In my early youth" (ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ). Like the former, this expression is also vague, and may cover a number of years. Taken in conjunction with the word "παῖς", it suggests the period of life from c. 18 to 25. (Cf. Bacon (op. cit. p. 101) dates this part of "Ad. Haer." c. 186. Cf. Schmiedel (op. cit. II Chap. 1, § 1.) c. 185).

There is a suggestion of age in the language used, a sort of elderly tone on the part of the writer, which is natural in one looking back about 40 years to the incidents and experiences of his youth. The man of sixty thinks of himself as a mere boy at twenty.

(Cf. Ad. Haer. V 30³. Irenaeus speaks of the Apocalypse as written a generation before (c. 90 - 95). This is a vague reference which adds nothing to our knowledge, but is in agreement with our inferences from the Letter to Florinus and Ad. Haer. III 3⁴.)

We are justified then in fixing the date of Irenaeus' birth as c. 130 - 136. A.D.; and the date of his association with Polycarp to the years c. 150 - 154.

(2) The further question arises - What was the nature and the duration of their association?

Harnack takes the view that it was casual and fleeting (cf. Chron. I 328) Irenaeus remembers having heard Polycarp preach two or three times, but he had no further intercourse with him. [cf. Harnack, Chron. I 334. The use of σοι instead of ἡμῖν in the Letter to Florinus seems to Harnack purposely to exclude Irenaeus from intercourse with "the Elders" mentioned. (Cf. Bacon op. cit. p. 252.) This is a mistaken inference. Irenaeus does not exclude himself. He was a fellow disciple of Polycarp. (Cf. Lewis, op. cit. p. 47 note; Kennedy, Exp. Times XXIX, p. 106.)]

Harnack gives reasons for holding that Irenaeus had not been (like Florinus) a disciple of Polycarp. e.g. Irenaeus mentions to Florinus no memories but these of his childhood. If he had had any later memories of Polycarp, he would not have needed to ruminate on those of his childhood. He does not mention the fact in writing to Victor; and only once again (Ad. Haer. III 3⁴) does he refer to it at all. Irenaeus simply listened to Polycarp's preaching when he was a little boy, - indeed Irenaeus was at the time a forward boy, and now feels that it was God's mercy that he had listened to Polycarp at all, - and the two never met again. The statements of Irenaeus certainly do not suggest any subsequent intercourse.

Gwatkin (Cont. Review, Feb. 1897) has shown that such further intercourse is not ruled out by the words of Irenaeus; and that it may have really happened although it is not mentioned. In our view however of the age of Irenaeus at the time, there is no need to argue for any subsequent intercourse with Polycarp. Indeed there/

there is no room for it, - the "boyhood" memories of Irenaeus belonging to the closing years of Polycarp's life. (They may have ceased two or three years before Polycarp's death, if the language of Ad. Haer. III 3⁴ be held to suggest a further addition to the already very great age of Polycarp.)

Nor do we think that the language of Irenaeus bears out Harnack's argument that he had merely listened to a few sermons. The brief references to Polycarp contain clear indications of closer and more prolonged association; and Irenaeus gratefully recognises the hand of God in making the things he learned from Polycarp the source of such blessing to him in after life. Irenaeus remembers Polycarp not only as a preacher he had heard in days long past; but as a teacher to whose discourses he had listened with reverent attention. He recalls the old man vividly, - his habits of speech and action, his mannerisms; his fits of passion when he encountered heretics; his familiar gesture, his wonted exclamation - all this as well as the substance of his discourses on the teaching and miracles of the Lord.

We conclude then that the association of Irenaeus with Polycarp was in his early youth, not childhood; and that it was long enough and close enough to make Irenaeus a competent witness for Polycarp's teaching and reminiscences. (cf. Schmiedel, op. cit. Part II, Chap 1, § 1, "He [Irenaeus] lived at Polycarp's house".).

2.

Polycarp and John.

What has Irenaeus to tell us about the relations of Polycarp with "John of Asia", and what bearing has his testimony on the authorship of the Fourth Gospel?

We turn to the three passages in the writings of Irenaeus to which reference has already been made, viz. Ad. Haer. III 3⁴, Letter to Florinus, and Letter to Victor.

(1) Ad. Haer. III 3⁴. Irenaeus has been insisting on the truth of Christian doctrine and practice in contrast with the flagrant errors of the Gnostic teachers; and he shows how the Church has preserved the truth unchanged and perfect from the days of the Apostles. The Church of Rome is so much in the lime light and observed of all, that it is not so open to change as other less-noted Churches; and the Apostolic tradition there has come down from the Apostles Peter and Paul through a succession of bishops (whom he names, III 3⁵) until the present time. And not only Rome, but other Churches also preserve this tradition independently. In particular there is a witness in the Asian Churches in which Irenaeus himself has a personal share, and which is actually far closer in the nature of its/

its connection with the Apostles than that of Rome. In his early youth Irenaeus had the privilege of coming into contact with Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, (then over eighty years of age); and Polycarp had been, in his youth, a disciple of Apostles. There is thus only one step between Irenaeus and the Apostolic age, so that his witness is most reliable. Polycarp's teachings, as preserved in the Churches of Asia, were confessedly the doctrines he had learned from Apostles and other disciples of Jesus.

Irenaeus then quotes a story that others had heard from Polycarp concerning the Apostle John and Cerinthus in Ephesus; but gives no indication whether Polycarp was an eye-witness of the incident. The mention of John in this connection however suggests that John was among the Apostles whom Polycarp heard; and this is borne out by the testimony of Irenaeus in other references to his old teacher.

[Bacon (op. cit. p.262 note) quotes McGiffert, "This same story with much more fullness of detail is repeated by Epiphanius (Haer. XXX 24). but of Ebion (a mythical heresiarch of Palestine) instead of Cerinthus. This shows that the story was a very common one, while at the same time so vague in its details as to admit of application to any heretic who suited the purpose".

He might have added that Epiphanius wrote c.375 A.D., nearly 200 years later than Irenaeus! Apart from this reference, the anecdote seems to have been told of several other persons. (Cf. Bacon, op. cit. pp. 262 f.; Moffatt op. cit. p. 608). But that does not necessarily mean that it is untrue in this case. For example, we may hear an anecdote about a Professor in Oxford, read a similar story later of a Glasgow Professor, and again hear it told of a Professor in Edinburgh. The story may be true of one only, or even of none, of the persons named; but the Professors are real characters, and actually belong to the Colleges mentioned.

So the story quoted by Irenaeus as from Polycarp, may or may not have occurred as described; but John and Cerinthus are likely to be real personages, and well-known as contemporaries in Ephesus, where the incident might actually have happened to them.]

(2) Letter to Florinus - (Eusebius H.E. V.20)

Florinus was a friend of Irenaeus, a Christian who had imbibed certain ^{heretical} doctrines, from which Irenaeus strives to win him. Among other things he recalls to Florinus' memory the circumstances of their early acquaintance as fellow-hearers of Polycarp in Asia; and he reminds him how completely the teachings received from Polycarp then, differ from the doctrines which Florinus now professes. Polycarp had taught them the doctrines he had learned from John and the rest who had seen the Lord.

Irenaeus tacitly assumes that Florinus is at one with him in his recollection of Polycarp's relation to John; and he further takes for granted that Florinus will acquiesce in his account of Polycarp's/

Polycarp's teachings. Whether he was justified in the latter expectation may be uncertain; but in regard to the former there seems no reasonable doubt that Florinus shared the conviction. Florinus may or may not agree with Irenaeus' account of Polycarp's teaching; but surely he is at one with Irenaeus in acknowledging John as the authority to whom Polycarp appealed. It is hardly credible that Irenaeus would have thus confidently appealed to a common tradition, unless the matter was one that admitted of no doubt.

The letter to Florinus, then, contains Irenaeus' own testimony as to Polycarp's association with John ("who had seen the Lord"). But it contains more; for in effect it reveals Florinus himself as a witness to the fact that Polycarp (one of "the elders, pupils of the Apostles") claimed to be a hearer of John, who had been a disciple of Jesus.

(3) Letter to Victor. (Eusebius H.E. V.24) -

Irenaeus claims to have correct information on the conditions and observances of the Churches in Asia in the time of Polycarp. His account of these matters has been derived (directly or indirectly) from Polycarp himself, and forms an independent testimony.

At the same time the Christians at Rome are in a position to know whether or not the account given by Irenaeus is accurate, and agrees with their own recollections (or their records) of these events which happened nearly 40 years before. The visit of Polycarp to Rome, and his associations with Anicetus, the Bishop of Rome, were important matters, and highly memorable events in the life of the Church there.

Polycarp's resolute stand on behalf of the Asiatic customs and observances was not due to prejudice or obstinacy, but to the conviction that in this matter he had the Apostles on his side. He had the highest ground, i.e. Apostolic authority, for his mode of observance. No lesser authority would have induced him to adhere so decisively to what, after all, were seen to be divisive practices and harmful to the unity of the Church: "I am only following John", he would say, "and the other Apostles, whose practice I myself often witnessed and shared".

And the friendly spirit in which Anicetus met him and agreed to differ, shows that he for his part accepted the truth of Polycarp's assertions.

The Roman Christians from the time of Anicetus could bear witness to the fact that Polycarp had been, or had claimed to be, a disciple and associate of John and other Christians of the first generation.

[Where did Irenaeus learn of Polycarp's sayings and doings at Rome? If he did not in person accompany Polycarp on that occasion, then/

then he probably learned them by inquiry from Roman Christians when he himself was at Rome. (in 177, or earlier). It is they who are his authorities, and who testify to Polycarp's relations with John, &c. (cf. Stanton, "Gospels &c." I p. 227)].

The "Letter to Victor" therefore shows not Irenaeus only, nor even the Churches of Gaul, but Victor himself and his fellow-Christians in Rome, as joint-witnesses to the fact that Polycarp of Smyrna had laid claim to a personal knowledge of and association with the Apostle John in Asia, - a claim which they themselves recognised to be just and true, and which they never questioned.

Taking the two letters together, we have a wide-spread testimony both of individuals and communities, that Polycarp was a disciple of the Apostle John. Cf. Lewis (op. cit. p.30) "All these several data are explained, if Florinus, the Christians in Rome, Irenaeus, and those who were associated with these men learned from Polycarp that he had been associated in Asia Minor with the son of Zebedee and did not learn from him of any other eminent John. It is natural to conclude, therefore, that the celebrated John of Asia was the son of Zebedee."

[Note. The references to John in the letters are not to assert or prove that Polycarp knew and followed John, but to explain why Polycarp held certain opinions or taught certain doctrines. They were not his own, but what he received in Apostolic succession. (Cf. Kennedy, Exp. Times XXIX p. 105.)]

The three references we have now discussed ~~from~~ the total amount of information about Polycarp that Irenaeus' writings have to offer; and at first sight this may seem rather slight. Yet it is of the greatest importance. The outstanding fact that it reveals is Polycarp's close association with John. On each occasion when Polycarp is referred to, the name of John crops up at once; so that it almost seems as if in the mind of Irenaeus the two are inseparably connected. He cannot think of Polycarp without at the same time remembering how Polycarp had made a practice of quoting John in his lectures. Surely this peculiarity is due to the conviction, based primarily on his own youthful memories, that Polycarp was in the habit of commending the truth of his teaching by a constant appeal to his personal recollections of John the Apostle.

To this the objection is raised that while Irenaeus is correct in associating Polycarp with John his teacher, he is mistaken in supposing that the latter was the Apostle. Cf. Harnack, Chron.I, 657 ff. Polycarp really meant the "Presbyter" not the "Apostle" John. Cf. Moffatt (op. cit. p. 609) Irenaeus "must be held to have mistaken what Polycarp said, and to have confused John the presbyter with John the Apostle" - "his memory, partly owing to his desire to safeguard the apostolic authority of the Fourth Gospel, misled him here as elsewhere."

Cf./

Cf. Garvie (op. cit. p. 210) "Even if Polycarp told Irenaeus all he knew about John, what proof is there that he stated anything to fix the identity of his teacher with the son of Zebedee?" p. 216. "possibility that he (Irenaeus) assumed the John, of whom Polycarp spoke to him, to be the son of Zebedee without evidence from Polycarp to that effect". "Is it not to transfer our methods of historical inquiry to an age which knew them not to suppose that Irenaeus questioned Polycarp, or Polycarp John, regarding his identity with the son of Zebedee?"

Cf. Wilkinson (Early History of Gospels p. 63) "As a boy, when he listened to Polycarp, the question of the literary history of the Gospels would have no interest for him, and St. John would probably have been dead for more than a generation". (cf. Schmiedel, op. cit. II, 1, § 4.)

On the other hand, Gwatkin (Cont. Review, Feb. 1897) suggests more attention to human nature and feelings, - subjective considerations difficult to estimate, but facts not to be neglected.

Cf. Watkins (Bampton Lectures 1890, p. 97) "The whole meaning of the history of this period has often been missed, because men have looked at the fossils of it as interesting specimens of an extinct life, instead of clothing them with flesh and blood, and seeing what that life really was".

It is right that we should guard against transferring modern conditions and experiences to the early centuries, (as Bacon does when he makes Irenaeus a "higher critic"! Cf. Stanton, "Gospels &c" III p. 126.). But there are some things which remain unchanged in man from age to age. Curiosity (to put it at its lowest) is not a modern discovery. Interest in the facts and personalities of the Apostolic age is as likely to have inspired the youthful Irenaeus as the Christian student of today. From all we know of Irenaeus through his writings he seems to have listened eagerly to Polycarp, and doubtless made it his business, then or afterwards (from others), to learn all that Polycarp had to tell about his great teacher John, who had actually seen Jesus in the flesh, and claimed to be one of His disciples. If he thought then, as he undoubtedly believed later, that it was John the Apostle, he would be thrilled and seek to hear more. The truth was bound to come out in the course of repeated mention of John and his teaching. Any reference to "John" would be of enthralling interest to young Irenaeus. He drank in with avidity the teaching of Polycarp, which made a lasting impression on his memory.

Besides, it must be remembered that even if there were the possibility of Irenaeus mistaking the Presbyter John for the Apostle, he is not an isolated figure in the 2nd century. Florinus and many another shared with him the privilege of hearing Polycarp; and many of his contemporaries and friends must have had far longer and more intimate association with Polycarp than Irenaeus had. That none of them ever questioned the statement of Irenaeus or doubted that/

that Polycarp's teacher was the Apostle John is self-evident, and goes to prove that Irenaeus was correct, as all the available witnesses testify. (cf. Drummond, op. cit. pp. 209, 213; Stanton, "Gospels &c." I 226.)

Moffatt endeavours to counter this argument thus :-
(op. cit. pp. 610 f.) "That Irenaeus had many links with the far past and opportunities of learning about it, may be admitted freely. But the bearing of all this upon the question of the accuracy of his memory is another matter. There were hundreds of his readers who must have known that Jesus was not crucified in the reign of Claudius, for example; even the pagan historian Tacitus knew better. But this did not prevent Irenaeus from committing his blunder, and it does not entitle us to argue that, because so many contemporaries could have corrected him if he had been wrong, therefore he must have been right".

There is nothing extraordinary in the fact that "the pagan historian Tacitus" knew the correct date of a judicial action of Pontius Pilate, a Roman Governor. The study of annals was his business, and he had access to the records. But it is exceedingly improbable that "hundreds of Irenaeus' readers" must have known the exact date of the Crucifixion of Jesus. Besides, in this particular matter of chronology. Irenaeus is conscious of opposition, and is plainly insisting on a date which he knows is not accepted by all. Very different are his allusions to the Apostle John, which all accept as universally acknowledged facts.

As to the "significant fact" (already dealt with) that "Irenaeus never calls John 'the Apostle'; the only significance in it is that Irenaeus never felt the need of stating it. It completes the proof that the fact was never doubted.

Here we may notice another version of the supposed confusion of the Apostle with the Presbyter John, viz. that the teacher of Polycarp was really "John of Jerusalem", the Elder who presided over the Church there in the early years of the 2nd century. Drummond had already shown (op. cit. p. 224) that the only evidence for the existence of a Presbyter John in Asia was "a very doubtful interpretation by Eusebius upon the words of Papias". "For anything we know, he may have died in Palestine long before the Apostle John" (p. 223 Cf. p. 220).

Bacon goes much farther (Cf. op. cit. pp. 150, 255 f.) He holds that Polycarp had been brought as a slave from "the East" in his youth, and that the references of Irenaeus are "to Polycarp's own boyhood in Syria, where Jerusalem was then still the seat of 'Elders and witnesses and disciples of the Lord'". "The references themselves tend to show that the John in question is the Elder of that name in Jerusalem who presided until 117 A.D. over the group of 'Elders', 'witnesses', and 'teachers'."

Imagination/

Imagination can work wonders! But, apart from the fact that there is no shadow of evidence for connecting Polycarp with Jerusalem ("The East" is a wide term), how old was Polycarp when brought as a slave in his youth? Under 20 years? Was "John of Jerusalem" a person of note some 30 or more years before 117 A.D.? Or can we conceive of Polycarp having such association with him as to justify Irenaeus' references to Polycarp's close dependence on John?

(Eusebius and Epiphanius, our informants regarding John, the seventh head of the Jerusalem Church, seem to know little else about him. Cf. Harnack, Chron. I pp.223, 230. Cf. Diet. of Chr. Biog. Art. "John of Jerusalem")

In this connection Moffatt remarks (op. cit. p.601) "it is not a necessary deduction from Papias to argue that these witnesses to the Palestinian tradition must have been in Palestine (Bacon)". "There is more, though not enough, to be said for the identification of John the presbyter (supposing he was not a personal disciple of Jesus) with John the seventh head of the Church at Jerusalem (Schlatter)". "The probability of Irenaeus having confused the son of Zebedee with the presbyter John depends on the presbyter's authority and residence in Asia Minor" (p.617).

It is difficult to take seriously the suggestion that Irenaeus and his contemporaries could not distinguish between the Apostle John and an Elder in Jerusalem who came to be of some local importance in the Church, a generation after the Fall of Jerusalem.

The introduction of "John of Jerusalem" offers no solution and indeed throws no fresh light on the problems connected with the Fourth Gospel. It involves a complete departure, if not from known historical fact, at least from every trustworthy tradition, and an abandonment of all the 2nd century witness of the Church. It seems however to offer another argument against the Apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel; and for that reason will doubtless continue to find adherents.

Another objection is advanced by Moffatt (op. cit. note on p.609) "Polykarp himself never calls the Apostle John his teacher; indeed he never alludes to him at all". This is a very misleading statement. If we are not to accept the evidence of Irenaeus and others about Polykarp's teaching and its sources, we must fall back on Polycarp's own writings; and how many of these do we possess? Only his letter to the Philippian Church. Even there we have clear indication of his acquaintance with the "Johannine" writings; and Eusebius notices the use of the 1st Epistle of John by Polycarp. [Cf. Kennedy, Exp. Times, XXIX pp.168, 170. Fisher, Beginnings of Christianity, p. 332.

Cf. H.J. Bardsley, J.T.S. Vol. XIV pp.207 - 220 "The Testimony of Ignatius and Polycarp to the writings of St. John"; and pp.489-500, where he endeavours to prove that Ignatius and Polycarp imply that/

that this John was the son of Zebedee. Cf. Drummond op. cit. pp. 189 - 191.]

Moreover, if the remark of Moffatt about Polycarp's failure to refer to John has any significance, it will apply equally to John the Presbyter (whom Moffatt regards as Polycarp's teacher). Cf. Moffatt (op. cit. p. 616) "To account for the tradition, a definite historical figure must be assumed, one who lived to a great age in Asia Minor, and became an authority there, a John whose name and prestige counted highly in Asiatic circles". (cf. Stanton, "Gospels &c" III p. 109.)

John of Asia, the teacher of Polycarp must have been a man of outstanding eminence if he is to be connected with the "Johannine" writings and whether he be Apostle or Presbyter, the absence of reference to him in the writings of Polycarp is equally unaccountable, or equally accountable, according as one regards it.

We have now seen that Irenaeus believed that the teacher to whom Polycarp referred was none other than the Apostle John; and we have further endeavoured to prove that he could only have derived this impression from Polycarp himself. Polycarp believed that John, his revered master, was actually the Apostle.

Here again it is protested that Polycarp may have made this assumption on insufficient grounds; that notwithstanding his assured belief, Polycarp was mistaken as to the identity of John of Asia. Cf. Garvie (op. cit. p. 216) "If the witness of the Fourth Gospel chose to conceal his identity under the descriptive phrase, 'the disciple whom Jesus loved', or the evangelist was instructed so to conceal it, when the Gospel was published, are we not entitled to assume the possibility that he was very reticent regarding his past life even to his followers in Ephesus, and that Polycarp had nothing definite to tell Irenaeus? That he spoke as an eye-witness would give such assurance that inquiry would not be made, and identity would be assumed".

But Polycarp was a contemporary of John's for nearly 30 years; and, as we have seen, the testimony of Irenaeus indicates that he must have had a fairly close and lengthy association with John, whose teaching so strikingly impressed and influenced him. John was a disciple of Jesus. The teaching that he gave to Polycarp and others would contain his own reminiscences, accounts of the sayings and doings of Jesus, as he had heard and seen them. Christian teaching generally in the closing years of the 1st century would embrace the oral Gospel, (something similar to the common element in the Synoptics) and Christians would be familiar with the stories of the ministry of Jesus. There would be a world of difference between the Apostle John's account of the intimate scenes and experiences of that Ministry, and that of an unknown "disciple of the Lord", who, whatever his relation to Jesus, was certainly outside the privileged circle of "the Twelve". (Cf. Stanton, "Gospels &c." I. p. 217). Was such an incident as the Transfiguration, for example, /

example, ever mentioned? Did Polycarp never see a sign of John's being an eye-witness there? There were many important occasions where the only John present was the son of Zebedee; and it could not be hid if the narrator were an eye-witness or no. "We beheld His glory", says the Fourth Evangelist; and no veil of secrecy would hide his witness. Polycarp must have known the truth; and Irenaeus as **certainly** learned from him.

Moreover, it is a great mistake to shut up Polycarp and John into a compartment, and dismiss the impression of Polycarp as an error. Many of Polycarp's older contemporaries had long and close association with John, knew of his coming to Asia, and of his personal history; and were in a position to correct or confirm Polycarp's impressions. That they were interested in and sought to learn all they could about John and his relations with the Lord, does not indicate that "our methods of historical inquiry" (cf. Garvie, op. cit. p.216) were current in that age; but rather reveals a loving personal devotion to Jesus and to His disciples on the part of the Christians of Ephesus and Asia. We can scarcely imagine the possibility of all being deceived, or of there being no shadow of doubt in anyone's mind. Polycarp knew John as the Apostle.

It is no argument against this to say that Polycarp's theology so little resembles John's. (cf. Burkitt, "Gospel History &c." p.220). A professor is not responsible for his student's capacity or ability or his doctrine. Anyhow we possess but little of Polycarp's teaching, and even what we have (as Bardsley op. cit.) has shown) is not un-Johannine. (cf. Stanton, "Gospels" I. p.21) Cf. Loisy "Le Quatrième Evangile" pp.26, 27. (Quoted in Church Quarterly Review, Vol. LX, p.90) Polycarp knew nothing, and could teach Irenaeus nothing on the origin of the Johannine writings.

If we admit the evidence of Irenaeus, then there is the statement in the "Letter to Florinus" that John had been one "of the eye-witnesses of the Word of Life", - regarding which Garvie says (op. cit. p.212). "This last phrase makes it clear that he is referring to the author of the Fourth Gospel". Polycarp evidently had some information to convey to Irenaeus regarding the author of the Fourth Gospel. Further, Irenaeus says that the teaching of Polycarp was in agreement with the Scriptures. [Lewis, (op. cit. pp.32 - 39) devotes several pages to arguing that the phrase "ταῖς γραφαῖς" means "the booklets", and implies that the Fourth Gospel was published in parts - lectures - afterwards collected and edited. Probably however it should be taken in its usual sense of "The Scriptures". Cf. Moffatt (op. cit. p.608, note) "It is probable that the Gospel originated in homilies and addresses which had originally a separate existence, but the ordinary sense of γραφαῖς here (= Scriptures) is more relevant to the context."]

Irenaeus means that Polycarp's teaching harmonised on all points with the Gospels; and the phrase that he uses, - "the teachings and the miracles of the Lord" - seems to point more particularly/

particularly to the contents of the Fourth Gospel. It is now generally admitted that the Gospel was published not later than the first quarter of the 2nd century, and it would certainly be familiar to the Christians of Ephesus and Smyrna by the time that Irenaeus was a hearer of Polycarp. The latter would be able to guarantee the truth of the Fourth Gospel as a correct account of the teaching of John. Probably Polycarp was acquainted with the circumstances of its origin; and he may even have been one of the circle of Christians who lent their authority to the appendix. "We know that his record is true".

Here then, in the double relationship of Polycarp, - to John on the one hand, and to Irenaeus on the other, - we have very strong evidence that Irenaeus is correct in his reference to John as the Apostle, and is on ~~some~~ ground in his description of the latter's teaching. The close agreement between the Fourth Gospel and all that Irenaeus had learned from Polycarp of John's teaching, may be taken for granted; and Polycarp must be regarded as a witness, and a competent one, to the truth of the common tradition as to the Apostle John's connection with the Fourth Gospel.

(cf. Zahn, Forschungen VI pp.72 - 78, 94 - 109; 175 - 217).

2.

JUSTIN MARTYR.

Another source from which Irenaeus may have derived some of his knowledge of the origins of the Fourth Gospel is Justin Martyr who wrote about the middle of the 2nd century, and whose apologetic writings have survived to our time, viz. the 1st and 2nd Apologies and the Dialogue with Trypho. In the opening sections of the last named work Justin gives a brief account of how he became a Christian. A native of Syria, he became a traveller in search of truth, and went to various teachers for light and guidance in seeking God. After many disappointments he found what he sought in the Christian Gospel, and in Christ's revelation of the Father; and he was converted to Christianity at Ephesus c.130 A.D. (cf. Eusebius, H.E. IV 18).

Henceforth the knowledge that he possesses of the Christian facts and Church traditions will be in the main what he has learned at the time of his conversion; and what he has to tell will be evidence for the teachings and traditions of the Ephesian Church in 130. His testimony on the Johannine writings will be the testimony of the Christians of Ephesus about 30 years after John's death. cf. Zahn, (N.T. Intr. Vol. III p. 177) "Since Justin lived in Ephesus between 130 and 135, and became a Christian there, his knowledge concerning the Gospels and their use in the Church was derived from this period and region". (Cf. Stanton, "Gospels &c." I, p.76. Wilkinson, "Early History of Gospels" pp.57 ff.)

Under what circumstances Irenaeus came under the influence of Justin, whether by personal contact or through the writings of Justin, remains obscure. It is possible, indeed probable, that he was a pupil of Justin's at Rome. Cf. Watkins (Bampton Lectures 1890 p.69) "Irenaeus was for a quarter of a century a contemporary of Justin, and probably at one time a fellow-citizen with him in Rome. In any case he was in immediate contact with his life and work, and had a full and exact knowledge of his writings; for in the work of Irenaeus Against Heresies, the Apology and Dialogue are quoted or referred to at least thirty times".

Cf. Lipsius (D.C.B. Art "Irenaeus") "If he (Irenaeus) was at Rome A.D.156, we may conjecture that he continued his studies there. The time of his removal into Gaul is unknown."

Cf. Montgomery Hitchcock, ("Irenaeus of Lugdunum", p.3) "There is much probability that Irenaeus spent some years of his early manhood in Rome, where first he encountered the Gnostics, studied the works of Justin, to which he shows much indebtedness &c." Cf. p.27. "When a young man in Rome, Irenaeus seems to have come under the spell of the master-mind of Justin". Irenaeus certainly quotes Justin with marked respect and approval; and Justin is perhaps referred to as among the "Superior men" who wrote against Gnostics. Cf. Ad. Haer. IV. Praef.2.

Further, /

Further, in the introduction to his translation of Irenaeus' "Demonstration of Apostolic Preaching", Dr. Armitage Robinson has brought out in a marked degree the debt of Irenaeus to Justin Martyr. (1) He shows how the direct dependence of Irenaeus on Justin can be demonstrated in various portions of the treatise; and he adduces a number of select parallels.

(2) He examines the treatment of a particular theme in the two writers, and by a full and careful study (44 pages) of the "doctrine of the Holy Spirit" in Justin and Irenaeus, proves Irenaeus' acquaintance with and development of Justin's views.

There is the closest connection then between Irenaeus and Justin, and we can extend this to their attitude towards and acceptance of the Gospels. The fuller and clearer testimony of Irenaeus may be employed to interpret that which in Justin is obscure; and unless there is marked disagreement, then we are entitled to read Justin's references to the Gospels as his disciple evidently understood them. Irenaeus cannot have held conflicting views of the Gospel witness without some trace of it appearing in his writings. (cf. Watkins, Bampton Lectures, 1890, pp.69 f.)

What has Justin to say about the Gospels? And, in particular, has he any real knowledge of the Fourth Gospel, its origin and authority?

(1) Justin quotes freely from the authoritative writings of the Church containing accounts of the life and teaching of Jesus under the title of "Memoirs of the Apostles" (and similar titles) which, he says, are called "Gospels". e.g. Dial. c.100. τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων. (cf. Westcott, "Canon", p.100, note 2) It is natural to connect this title with the statement of Papias in his preface, concerning Mark, the interpreter of Peter (cf. Eus. H.E. III, 39.) ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν , γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν. (cf. Westcott, "Canon", p.65 note 2). Cf. Westcott ("Gospels" p. 182, note 3) - "Justin speaks of 'the memoirs of Peter' with an obvious reference to St. Mark (Dial. c.106)".

Cf. Swete ("Mark", p. XXIII) - "Mark as the author of a collection of memoirs which give the substance of St Peter's teaching".

Justin's employment of this term for the Gospels indicates his knowledge of Papias' writings, or alternatively of the Papias' "Elder" tradition. Hence he is likely to know the traditions concerning "John of Asia". As a matter of fact he does make a single reference to John (whom he calls the Apostle), as the author of the Apocalypse (Dial.c.81).

On this, Swete remarks (J.T.S. Vol.XVII, p.376) all that can be inferred from it is that "at Ephesus the title of Apostle had begun to be attached to John as early as 130, i.e. within little more than thirty years after his death." (c.f. Moffatt, op.cit. pp.498, 615). But surely the reference implies more than this. It suggests that in/

in 130 A.D. the disciples of John at Ephesus were at one in informing Justin that their master, whom they loved to recall and to quote, was John the Apostle. Justin has no doubt on the matter; and he must have received the account from an authoritative source.

That the three Synoptic Gospels are included in the "Memoirs" used by Justin is self-evident. (cf. Sanday, "Gospels in 2nd Cent". pp. 91-98). The inclusion of the Fourth Gospel is not quite so certain; though it is now generally acknowledged that Justin knew and made use of the Fourth Gospel as more or less authoritative. (cf. Bacon, op. cit. p.32; Stanton, "Gospels etc. I p. 80; Jackson, "Fourth Gospel &c." p. 40) The researches of Ezra Abbot ("The Fourth Gospel &c.") and of Drummond have gone far to establish Justin's use of the Fourth Gospel as one of the "Memoirs" of Jesus, written by Apostles and companions of Apostles, (a description that fits admirably our four Gospels.) cf. Irenaeus' references to the author of the Third Gospel. (Ad. Haer. III 14') - "Luke companion and fellow-labourer of Apostles." cf. III 10' "Luke also, the follower and disciple of the Apostles." (cf. Stanton, op.cit. I. pp. 81-91).

Ezra Abbot considers some 18 passages of Justin that bear more or less resemblance to the Fourth Gospel. And Drummond has added, to an independent study of the parallel passages (Cf. op. cit. pp. 84 - 106), a full consideration of the "Logos" doctrine of Justin in its relation to the Fourth Gospel (pp. 107 - 142). The results of their examinations bear out the conclusion of Norton ("Genuineness of the Gospels", I, pp. 237 - 239. - Quoted by Ezra Abbot.) "When, therefore, we find Irenaeus, the contemporary of Justin, ascribing to the four Gospels the same character, the same authority, and the same authors, as are ascribed by Justin to the Memoirs quoted by him, which were called Gospels, there can be no reasonable doubt that the Memoirs of Justin were the Gospels of Irenaeus".

Justin's Gospels were read in the Churches as the authoritative sources for the life and teaching of Jesus; and they could never have been discarded and replaced by others without some sign of controversy or even of discussion in the Church. Cf. Drummond, op. cit. pp. 161 f.; Watkins, Bampton Lectures, 1890, pp.69, 81. Cf. Salmon, D.C.B. Art. "Papias" - "Papias" younger contemporary Justin Martyr we may safely pronounce the silent substitution of one gospel for another to be a thing inconceivable".

Cf. Burkitt ("Gospel History &c." p.278) - "When and where our Four Gospels were gathered together into a single Corpus Evangelicum, we do not know The process seems to have been very nearly complete in the time of Justin Martyr (Apol. 167, Trypho. 106) who wrote in the decade following 150".

(2) Justin's use of the Fourth Gospel being admitted, what authority does he allow to it, or has he any knowledge of its authorship?

Cf. Moffatt (op. cit. p.579) - "The only question with regard to/

to Justin is whether he attributed the Gospel to John the Apostle as he did the Apocalypse", Cf. p. 580 - "The independent character of Justin's Logos-doctrine, and the scantiness of any definite allusions in his writings to the Fourth Gospel, render it highly probable that he did not assign it any authoritative position as an Apostolic or Johannine work". (Cf. Schmiedel, "The Johannine Writings", Part II. Chap. I, § 19.; Ency. Bib. II, 1832 - 1837, 2507.)

But Justin's practice in another case proves how fallacious such an argument is. We know that he holds the Apocalypse to be by the Apostle John (admitted by Moffatt op. cit. p. 579); and yet he scarcely refers to it. Had we not the single definite statement of Dialogue 81, we might doubt if Justin knew the Apocalypse at all; and certainly we would not gather from his use of it that he attributed it to the Apostle John. Hence his apparent neglect of the Fourth Gospel (in his extant works at least) is not argument against his belief in its apostolic origin.

(Cf. Harnack, Chron. I, 673 ff.; Drummond, op. cit. p. 141.; Zahn, N.T. Introd, III p. 182.)

The reasons for such slight use of the Fourth Gospel in Justin's writings are obviously connected with the apologetic character of his works (Cf. Watkins, op. cit. pp. 61 - 64). His last work against heresies ("Syntagma &c.") would probably show, as apologies naturally do not, Justin's use of the Fourth Gospel; and also make Irenaeus' dependence on Justin much more evident. Cf. Rendel Harris (Expositor, March 1907), referring to Irenaeus on the Apostolical Preaching, says that at first sight it is surprising and disappointing that the Gospels are so little used; The Gospels "take relatively less place than they do in Justin Martyr". If the Church had possessed only this work of Irenaeus, instead of "Adversus Haereses", what false impressions we would have received of his attitude to the Gospels! (Cf. Church, Quarterly Review, Vol. LX, pp. 96 ff. on Justin's habits of quotation).

Tatian, whose "Diatessaron" was composed of a harmony of our four Gospels, was a disciple of Justin; and forms a link between him and Irenaeus, giving additional certainty that the "Memoirs" of Justin were identical with the Gospels of Irenaeus. (Cf. Ezra Abbot. Drummond, op. cit. pp. 82 f.; Watkins, op. cit. p. 71; Stanton, op. cit. I, pp. 79, 145 ff., III p. 75.; Burkitt, op. cit. pp. 278, 280).

Here then in Justin Martyr Irenaeus was in contact with one who had good opportunities of knowing the circumstances of the Fourth Gospel's origin, and its right to an authoritative place among the writings of the Christian Church. Among the leading Christians of Ephesus with whom Justin came in contact after his conversion in 130 A.D. would be many who had been disciples of John, even as Polycarp of Smyrna. They were in a position to inform/

inform Justin in regard to the Christian Gospels, their authority and value as embodied in the Church tradition; and in particular as to the Fourth Gospel which was of comparatively recent and of local origin, and also as to "John of Asia" and the relation of his teaching to the Fourth Gospel. We can appreciate Justin's learning and ability, his critical judgment, his eagerness to know the truth of God and to find out all he could about Christ, His life and ministry, His teaching and miracles; and we may take it as certain that he would learn all there was to be known of "John of Asia" and his teaching about Jesus whom he had followed in the days of His flesh.

Justin and Irenaeus are essentially at one in their witness. For the former the author of the Apocalypse was John the Apostle (Dial. 81) For Irenaeus the author of the Apocalypse was John the beloved disciple (Ad. Haer IV 20¹¹), whom he evidently identifies with the Apostle.

But the Fourth Gospel points to this same John as its author; and (in spite of Bacon, op. cit. pp. 220 - 224) there is no evidence that the Gospel was ever current without the Appendix. (cf. Stanton, "Gospels &c." III 22 ff.; L88fs. "What is the truth about Jesus Christ?" pp. 100 - 102.) Justin, as well as Irenaeus, knew that the Gospel claimed to have been written by the Apostle John; and the truth of its claim was for Justin guaranteed by his teachers at Ephesus, themselves the disciples of John.

The amount of evidence afforded by the works of Justin Martyr towards our study is comparatively slight; but, such as it is, it forms an independent witness, and confirms the truth of the Irenaeus' testimony gained from other sources. Justin agrees with the other authorities on whom Irenaeus relies; and the tradition derived by Irenaeus from Justin came directly from the disciples of John at Ephesus by a channel distinct from the witness received through Polycarp at Smyrna. (cf. Dale, "Living Christ and Four Gospels", Chap. X.; Stanton, op. cit. I pp. 76 - 137.)

3. "THE PRESBYTERS" - PAPIAS.

Throughout his writings Irenaeus repeatedly cites certain persons as his authorities or informants for the facts and traditions he relates, - persons whom he names vaguely as "The Presbyters"; or, "The Presbyters, the disciples of the Apostles"; or, "The Elders who saw John, the disciple of the Lord".

In these individuals, whoever they were, we recognise another source of Irenaeus' knowledge of First Century Church life; and, in so far as their testimony seems to agree with what we have already examined, they afford an additional guarantee of its truth. The main difficulty is to determine whether the references are to an oral or to a written source.

[cf. Lightfoot, (Bib. Essays, pp. 56 - 62, and "Sup. Rel." pp.158 f., 194 - 202, 217 f., 245 - 248, 266.); Harnack, (Chron. I, pp.333 - 340); Zahn, (Forsch.VI, pp.53 - 94); Lewis (op. cit. pp.41 - 56); Kennedy, (Exp. Times, XXIX, pp.105 ff., 170 ff., 235 ff)]

The evidence of the Presbyters has been very thoroughly examined by several scholars; and there is little to add to their arguments. Lightfoot's discussion is superseded by the much fuller treatment of later writers (Cf. Lewis, op. cit. p.43). Of the 13 references considered by Lightfoot (Bib. Essays p.61), 7 are eliminated by Harnack and Zahn as irrelevant; 4 are agreed upon as oral by Lightfoot, Harnack and Zahn. Only two remain for discussion, viz. Ad. Haer. V 5¹, and V 36^{1,2}, which Lightfoot regards as written, probably by Papias. Harnack thinks they were written by Papias. Zahn regards them as oral; and Lewis (though on independent grounds, op. cit. pp.44 ff.) agrees with Zahn.

The Presbyter evidence referred to appears in the works of Irenaeus thus:- In Ad Haer. there are 23 references; in the "Letter to Florinus" I; and in the Demonstration of Ap. Pr. 2. The following is a complete list of all the allusions to "the Elders": [References to Ad Haer. are to translation in Ante Nicene Library].

<u>Ad. Haer.</u>	I, Preface 2.	"One far superior to me has well said".
I 13 ⁵		"One superior to me has observed".
I 15 ⁶		"that divine elder and preacher of the truth burst forth in verse Such are the words of the saintly elder".
II 22 ⁵		"As the Gospel and all the elders testify; those who were conversant in Asia with John, the disciple of the Lord, Some of them, moreover, saw not only John, but the other apostles also, and heard the very same account from them,".
III 17 ⁴		"As a man superior to me has said -"
III 23 ³		"A certain person among the ancients has observed".
IV Pref. 2		"My predecessors, - much superior men to myself -"
IV 4 ²		"Well spake he, who said"
IV 27 ⁷		

- 1V 27¹ "As I have heard from a certain presbyter, who heard it from those who had seen the apostles, and from those who had been their disciples"
 (cf. Armenian Version - (see below)).
- 1V 27¹ "As the presbyter remarked". (Present tense in Armenian Version).
- 1V 27² "As that presbyter remarks".
- IV 28¹ "The elders pointed out" - ["The Elder". (Armenian)].
- 1V 30¹ "As also the presbyter remarked".
- 1V 31¹ "The presbyter was in the habit of instructing us" [Armenian - "would rejoice us and say "].
- 1V 32¹ "After this fashion also did a presbyter, a disciple of the Apostles, reason -"
- 1V 41² "As one before me has observed".
- V 51¹ "The elders who were disciples of the apostles tell us".
- V 17⁴ "As a certain man among our predecessors observed".
- V 23⁴ "As a certain man of ours said" (Quotes Ignatius, "Romans" IV).]
- V 30¹ "Those men who saw John face to face bearing their testimony".
- V 33³ "As the elders who saw John, the disciple of the Lord, related that they had heard from him how the Lord used to teach"
- V 36¹ "And as the presbyters say .."
- V 36² "The presbyters, the disciples of the apostles, affirm .."

Eus. H.E. V 20. (Letter to Florinus) "...these opinions, those presbyters who preceded us, and who were conversant with the apostles, did not hand down to thee".

Dem. Ap. Pr. § 3. "Now faith occasions this for us; even as the Elders, the disciples of the Apostles, have handed down to us" (cf. Ad. Haer. V 36¹).

§61. "Now as to the union and concord and peace of the animals the Elders say that so it will be in truth at the coming of Christ".

Of these allusions to "the Elders" one (V 23⁴) which contains a quotation from Ignatius (Romans 1V) is referred to a definite source, and may be set aside as having no direct bearing on the Fourth Gospel. [It is of interest however to note the vague way in which Irenaeus refers to one who was so eminent in the Church, both by his life and martyrdom and by his writings. This is in keeping with Justin's casual reference to the Apostle John (Dial. §81); and warns us not to expect from Irenaeus those positive and emphatic references to the Apostle which we think so natural, and whose absence has given rise to doubts and suspicions on the part of some critics/

critics. It is further noteworthy that the reference to Ignatius, though to a writing, is in the past tense, ("as a certain man of ours said &c."); and this suggests the need of caution in any attempt to classify the references as written or oral on the sole ground of the tense used.]

Of the 25 references to the Presbyters, a certain number are eliminated both by Harnack and Zahn as having no bearing on the questions of the Fourth Gospel. These are I pref.2, I 13³, I 15⁶, III 17⁴, III 23³, IV pref.2, IV 4², IV 41², V 17⁴. Lewis (op. cit. p.44) agrees with their verdict; and the present writer, on examining all the passages named, finds no reason to question their decision.

Harnack (Chron. I. p.334) thinks such sayings as I pref.2, I 13³, &c. cannot have belonged to oral tradition. Surely they cannot be anything else! The references however afford no fresh light on the problems under discussion, and may therefore be passed over as irrelevant. Only let us bear in mind this important fact that while the Presbyters quoted were not dealing with the Fourth Gospel, or its author, they yet serve to show how Irenaeus kept in touch with all the traditions of the Church, and relied on the highest authority he could get.

Other seven references (Ad. Haer. IV 27¹, 27¹, 27², 28¹, 30¹, 31¹, 32¹) Harnack, Zahn, and Lewis concur in ascribing to an oral source, and therefore requiring no further discussion. The references are undoubtedly to an oral source; and a study of the whole passage in which they occur makes it abundantly evident that the same Presbyter is referred to throughout. Cf. Armenian Version of IV 28¹, which reads "The Elder pointed out". (in place of the Latin "The Elders".) (Cf. Harnack, Chron. I pp.328 f.)

The relation of this Presbyter to the Apostles is described in two passages:- IV 27¹. "Quemadmodum audiui a quodam presbytero, qui audierat ab his qui Apostolos viderant, et ab his qui dedicerant." IV 32¹, "Hujusmodi quoque de duobus Testamentis senior Apostolorum discipulus disputabat."

Doubt is thrown by Harvey (cf. Ad. Haer. IV 32¹ note) on the identity of the presbyter of the former passage with the senior of the latter, on the ground that the former "was only a hearer of those who had heard the Apostles".

On the other hand the context gives no ground whatever for distinguishing two separate elders; and the identity is assumed by most scholars.

Cf. Kennedy (Exp. Times XXIX pp.106, 236) "his description of the unnamed presbyter as 'that older disciple of the Apostles' may require to be taken in a general sense". Cf. Moffatt (op. cit. p.610) on the significance of this incidental error as showing how Irenaeus "used discipulus apostolorum in a careless and loose sense".



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It may be worth while referring in this connection to the recently discovered Armenian Version of Books IV and V of Ad. Haer., and to a note on this particular passage kindly furnished to the writer by Dr. Armitage Robinson, who gives the following translations from the Armenian:-

IV 27¹. "As I heard from a certain Elder who had heard the Apostles - who indeed had seen them - and those who had been taught (lit. made disciples) by them".

IV 32¹. "After this manner somewhat (or in effect: prob. = $\pi\omega\varsigma$) concerning the two Covenants the Elder of-the-Apostles of-the-disciples (possibly we should amend to the nom. sing. 'The disciple') used to speak".

Dr. Armitage Robinson comments:- "this correction seems to me probable, especially in view of the Latin Apostolorum discipulus. In any case St. Irenaeus must mean that he was one of the disciples of the Apostles. And it is plain that he has throughout but one Elder in his mind, whom he takes as an example of the gain of hearkening to the Elders, who are in the succession of the Apostles, as guides in the exposition of the Scriptures".

It will be seen that according to the Armenian Version this Elder had actually heard and seen certain of the Apostles; and to this statement there is no internal ground of objection. It removes the discrepancy between the two references (IV 27¹ and IV 32¹); and shows Irenaeus in close relation with a disciple of the Apostles, - though opinions will differ as to whether the Armenian is here to be preferred to the Latin.

Throughout this passage Irenaeus is reporting what he himself received directly from his old teacher, and preserved either in his memory or in the form of lecture notes. The identity of the Presbyter remains obscure. Lightfoot ("Sup. Rel." p.266) suggests Pothinus. (cf. Kennedy, Exp. Times XXIX, pp. 107, 236). If he was actually a disciple of Apostles, it may have been Polycarp, or some other unknown teacher of Irenaeus. The thing of real importance in connection with our present line of study is the constant iteration by Irenaeus of the duty of hearkening to the Elders, who have succession from the Apostles, as the trustworthy exponents of the truth.

There remain nine references to be considered, viz. II 22⁵, V 5¹, V 30¹, V 33³, V 36¹, V 36², Dem. Ap. Pr. § 3, and § 61, and Eus. H.E. V 20. The two passages from the "Demonstration &c." are of the same character as those in the end of "Ad. Haer. V." and probably belong to the same source. The reference in Eus. H.E. V 20 is certainly to an oral source; and is the one instance where we find Irenaeus undoubtedly claiming direct contact with Elders, disciples of the Apostles (besides Polycarp). Harnack's endeavour (Chron. I p.334) to show that Irenaeus by his use of $\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ excludes himself from such intercourse with the Elders as Florinus had enjoyed/

enjoyed, is not successful; and we are bound to accept the statement of Irenaeus as in every way probable in the circumstances. (cf. Kennedy, Exp. Times XXIX pp.106, 235) Polycarp, teacher of Florinus and Irenaeus, was one of the Presbyters alluded to; and Polycarp had contemporaries with whom Irenaeus came into touch. The disciples of John or of other Apostles handed on the Apostolic teaching; and Irenaeus received the teaching, partly direct from John through Polycarp and others unknown, and partly through disciples of those Presbyters who had learned the truth from the Apostles.

Lewis (op. cit. pp.46 - 49) tries to prove that the remaining references are of the same character as that in the "Letter to Florinus", and belong therefore to an oral source; but he fails to establish his claim. There is almost nothing in the references themselves to guide one; and careful scholars come to the most opposite conclusions.

The most important passages are the three which contain the testimony of the Elders who knew "John of Asia". II 22⁵, V 30¹, V 33³.

The first of these (II 22⁵) we have already examined (Supra pp. 5 ff.) and ascribed to Papias; and the subject-matter of the second (V 30¹) points to a similar source in the writings of Papias. - though there is no conclusive evidence in either case that the source is not oral.

The one passage that may possibly throw light on the discussion is V 33⁴, where Irenaeus introduces the name of Papias, either as the source of his quotation from the Elders, or as a writer whose work corroborates the oral tradition just recorded.

Irenaeus is discoursing on the blessings of the Kingdom of Christ, and he proceeds to quote some of the teachings of Jesus as these had come to him through the Elders who heard them from John, the disciple of the Lord (V 33³). What Irenaeus reports as the teaching of Jesus, though meant by him to be taken literally, has plainly its origin in the figurative language and symbolic interpretations of such sayings of Jesus as are to be found in the Fourth Gospel (e.g. John 15¹ ff. The fruit-bearing branches of the True Vine). Irenaeus then goes on to say (V 33⁴) *ταῦτα δὲ καὶ*

Παπίας Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἐταῖρος γεγονώς, ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν αὐτοῦ βιβλίων, ὅτι γὰρ αὐτῷ πέντε βιβλία συντεταγμένα. (Eus. H.E. III 39)

It is exceedingly difficult to determine whether Papias is here named as the source of the preceding quotation, or as another and independent witness to the truth of the traditions from "John of Asia". The description of Papias as "bearing witness to these things" is probably a reminiscence of Papias' own statement in his preface/

preface that he was "guaranteeing their truth" (*διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀληθείαν*. *Eus. H.E. III 39*). Harnack (*Chron. I* pp.335 f.) considers that Irenaeus is simply naming the written source of his quotation, and that he had no other knowledge of the Elders who knew John in Asia. (Schmiedel (*Ency. Bib. II 2549*) denies that the reference is taken verbatim from Papias). On the other hand, Lewis (op. cit. p.50) maintains that the use of the word *ἐγγράφως* and its position in the sentence indicate that "Irenaeus had material from Papias in addition to that which he derived from the presbyters"; and he speaks (p.50, note) of "the significant connectives which Irenaeus used". Cf. Kennedy (*Expt Times XXIX p. 105*) on "the careful language employed" which seems to imply a distinction of sources. Cf. p.235 - "language possibly justifies the assertion that Irenaeus was acquainted with an oral tradition of 'the presbyters who saw John the disciple of the Lord', while he adds that 'Papias also records this'. But Lewis has remarked (though of course in another connection, op. cit. p.18) on "the general habit of looseness of expression which is characteristic of Irenaeus' style". Cf. p. 20 "this is to attribute to Irenaeus a carefulness of language which he never observed". Cf. p.45 "A loose writer like Irenaeus might make such a juxtaposition incidentally rather than significantly".

Irenaeus may quite well have used a careless construction at one point, and a careful one at another; but we have no guarantee as to which is which! [Unfortunately the Armenian translation has no light to throw on the question]. (cf. Stanton, "Gospels &c." I p.222)

The expression "*καὶ ἐγγράφως*" is used elsewhere by Irenaeus when he states (III 1¹) that "Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, did also hand down to us in writing what had been preached by Peter". The preaching of Peter was a thing apart from Mark's account of it, and would have a place for a time in the oral traditions of the Church; but Irenaeus would only know it through the written Gospel, though the tradition of that Gospel's origin remained in the Church. It is plain that we can not be certain whether or not Irenaeus here claims direct relation to the Presbyters; but Lewis rightly points out (op. cit. p.50, note) that if there are two sources there is no need to suppose a verbatim similarity between them. It will suffice if they are substantially alike.

It will be seen that our study of the "Presbyter" evidence has yielded results that are somewhat meagre, at least as far as the Fourth Gospel is concerned. The traditions of the Johannine teaching at Ephesus would be current in the Church, apart from the "Expositions" of Papias; and Irenaeus would certainly be in the way of receiving them, more especially as such links with the Apostolic Age were what he eagerly sought after. At the same time we are unable to point definitely to many such references in Irenaeus' writings as being primarily from an oral source going back to the Apostle. And one is inclined to agree with Lightfoot ("Sup. Rel." pp. 196 ff.) and Harnack (*Chron. I* pp.334 ff.) that

a main source of several of these references of Irenaeus to the sayings of the Elders is to be found in the works of Papias. It is true that the instance in Ad. Haer. V 33⁴ is the only time Irenaeus mentions Papias by name; but we have good reason for believing that he drew largely from the "Expositions" of Papias, inasmuch as many of his quotations or discussions bear the closest resemblance to the kind of tradition and narrative Eusebius leads us to expect from Papias.

As to how much or how little of the "Presbyter" testimony is oral, no final decision is possible; and judgments will vary in accordance with subjective considerations.. But the discussion is not to be narrowed down to the issue of a single passage, nor made to depend on the position of a Greek particle, as if the testimony of Irenaeus to the Fourth Gospel were hung on so slight a thread. Whichever view is adopted, the ultimate result will not affect the validity of the testimony.

For if the "Presbyter" testimony be oral, it shows Irenaeus in immediate contact with a wide circle of authorities, and so possessed of a sure knowledge of affairs in sub-apostolic times. This is the view taken by Lewis, and so strongly emphasized by him. (op. cit. pp.51 - 56).

On the other hand if the source of the evidence be written, then in all probability it is from Papias. The result shows Irenaeus constantly quoting Papias' books (cf. Lightfoot, "Sup. Rel." p.202); and this makes it quite impossible that Papias had reported the early death by martyrdom of the Apostle John. The more we make Irenaeus to depend on Papias, the more certain is it that the supposed evidence from Papias is based on some error or misinterpretation.

Ultimately then the question of the value of the Irenaeus' testimony to the Fourth Gospel does not depend upon the written or oral character of the "Presbyter" evidence. Irenaeus' testimony is based on a broader and surer foundation. Even although there were no references to the "Presbyters" in "Ad. Haer.", yet we know that Irenaeus had access to such witnesses and that he made the most of his opportunities. Pothinus is a case in point. Dying in 177 A.D. at the age of 90 (Cf. Eus. H.E. V I), he must have had memories that carried him back almost to the times of John of Asia (and he may himself have come from that region and from the circle of John's disciples. Cf. Lightfoot, Bib. Essays, p.54; Kennedy, Exp. Times XXIX, p. 107); and Irenaeus was for many years in close contact with Pothinus at Lyons, and doubtless received from him confirmation of many of the "Presbyter" traditions.

Garvie ("The Beloved Disciple", p.212) remarks;- "With other Church leaders who had listened to the disciples of the apostles he (Irenaeus) may also have had contact, as also Pothinus may have been for him a link with a much older generation". But he goes on to speak slightly of the "sort of conjecture that might have come/

come to Irenaeus". "What might have been borne to him along these main currents would have been such traditions as we have already examined, and been led to regard as inconclusive evidence".
(op. cit. p.216)

In reply to this we may point to an example of Church tradition as handed down to Irenaeus. Cf. Plummer ("Luke", Introd. p.XIV), discussing the question of Luke as author of the Third Gospel (and Acts), says "From Irenaeus onwards the evidence is full and unwavering, and it ~~comes~~ from all quarters of the Christian world". Cf. p.XVII "So far as their [Irenaeus, &c.] knowledge extends, Luke is everywhere regarded as the writer. How did this belief grow up and spread, if it was not true? There is nothing in either treatise to suggest Luke, and he is not prominent enough in Scripture to make him universally acceptable as a conjecture". Irenaeus is the first (so far as writings now extant are concerned) to give written expression to the common belief of the Church. He has inherited the tradition. He offers no guess or assertion, brings forward no argument or proof, but makes a simple statement of fact. And his close association with Justin makes it a ~~certainly~~ that the latter had Luke in view when he referred to the author of a Gospel as a "companion of Apostles". This is the kind of tradition that Irenaeus inherited in the Church succession, and not merely or mainly the empty tales that Garvie hints at. Modern scholarship vindicates Irenaeus in the matter of Luke's authorship of the Third Gospel and Acts.

And if he has preserved the truth about the Third Gospel, much more likely has he done so in the case of the Fourth, which was nearer to his own time and the place of his origin, and concerning which he had exceptional opportunities for knowledge.

Cf. Stanton (H.D.B. Art. "Gospels" II p.248) "There is next to nothing in the character of John the son of Zebedee, as we see it in The Gospels and the early chapters of the Acts, which marks him out as fitted to be the writer". As in the case of Luke just considered, so also with that of John, there is nothing to suggest him as the author of the Fourth Gospel, except the actual fact of his connection with it as publicly known among the Christians of Ephesus.

PAPIAS.

Our study of the "Presbyter" testimony in Irenaeus has shown us that to some extent it is dependent on Papias, and we now proceed to an examination of his evidence and an estimate of its authority.

Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, - through the quotations of his works by other writers, and their bearing on problems of Gospel origins, - has come to be one of the prominent figures in Early Church history; but the loss of his "Expositions" has made his witness a most perplexing problem.

Among discussions of the whole subject, or of various aspects of it, the most important are Lightfoot, ("Sup. Rel." Chaps.V and VI; Bib. Essays, pp. 63 - 70); Harnack, (Chron. I pp.658 ff); Zahn, (Forsch. VI, pp. 109 - 157).

The date of the birth of Papias and the length of his life are unknown. Lightfoot ("Sup. Rel." p.150) thinks he was rather older than Polycarp his "companion", and was probably born c.60 - 70 A.D.; though "his work was evidently written at a much later date." Others reckon him about the same age as Justin, and his writings not earlier than the middle of the 2nd century. [Cf. Harnack, (Chron. I pp.357, 380) - Papias' chief work written c. 145 - 160; Salmon /(D.C.B. Art. "Papias") - "not far wrong in dating the work of Papias about A.D. 130"; Swete, ("Apocalypse" p. CLXXX) - "the early date of Papias".; Bartlet, (Dict. of Christ & Gospels, Art. "Papias", pp. 311 f.) thinks Papias older than Polycarp, and gives good reasons for dating the "Expositions" about 115 - 120.]

An earlier date is more probable, and is supported by the fact that the authorities Papias relies on, who belong to the sub-apostolic age, seem mostly his own contemporaries; while Irenaeus alludes to him as ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ (Ad. Haer. V 334 (Stieren)), "one of the ancients" (cf. Moffatt N.T. Intr. p. 604, note.) The publication of his "Expositions" was probably towards the end of his life; but he had begun to collect traditions and teachings of Apostles at a very early date. He seems to have had many opportunities of learning the truth from good authorities, and to have endeavoured to make the most of them according to his ability. Estimates of his worth as an authority vary very widely. Irenaeus quotes him with respect and approval. Eusebius disparages him, probably through dislike of his millenarian views (Cf. Bartlet, D.C.B. Art. "Papias", p.309). Curiously enough some modern critics combine the two estimates, and while at one time scoffing at Papias' credulity and fantastic inferences, at another time they adduce as most reliable evidence some tradition which may or may not be even a genuine utterance of Papias. (cf. Moffatt, op. cit. pp. 609 f., 608). There is no indication that Irenaeus was personally acquainted with Papias, though the dates may make it just possible. (cf. Gwatkin, Cont. Rev. Feb. 1897, pp.221 ff; Watkins,/

Watkins, Bampton Lectures, 1890, p.96; Kennedy, Exp Times XXIX, p. 105)

There are two points in the Papias' tradition which have a special bearing on our subject;- (1) The preface to the "Expositions", which Eusebius has preserved; and (2) The tradition of the early martyrdom of the Apostle John.

1. The passage from the Preface (Eus. H.E. III 39³⁴) is too familiar to require quoting; and it has been examined so often and so thoroughly that one is almost afraid to touch it again. It raises such baffling questions as to (1) Who are "the Elders"? (2) Are there two Johns or one? (3) What is the reason for the change of tense in the last clause, from "said" to "say"? (Cf. Drummond, op. cit. p.220;

Zahn, N.T. Introd, III p.205; Kennedy, Exp Times. XXIX pp.170 f., 312)

It seems only reasonable that, in a case of this kind where such conflicting views obtain, the wisest course is to listen to the verdict of the earliest witnesses, who may be supposed to have the fullest information on the subject. Such a witness, fair and competent, is Irenaeus himself; and his views are entitled to acceptance unless they can be proved false or improbable. It is true that Eusebius thought Irenaeus was mistaken, but it was Eusebius' desire to find separate authors for the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse that led him to distinguish two Johns in the preface of Papias.

(Eusebius in his Chronicle had called Papias a hearer of the Apostle, - probably on the strength of Ad. Haer. V 33⁴. Cf. Harnack Chron. I, 36.)

In spite of the arguments of Drummond (op. cit. p.202), Stanton, ("Gospels &c." III pp. 108 ff.), and others, the present writer cannot help feeling that the vague shadowy figure of "John the Presbyter" owes his existence to the critical needs of Eusebius and the careless writing of Papias. Eusebius certainly possessed the whole of Papias' "Expositions"; but as far as interpreting the language of the preface goes, he was in no better position than ourselves. On the other hand Irenaeus was acquainted with the state of affairs in Asia at the close of the 1st century, and had other sources of information in regard to the matters on which Papias was writing. He had never heard of a person of any importance in the Church, known as "the Elder John", as distinct from the Apostle who may well have borne that title. Irenaeus interprets to us the meaning of Papias' writing; and he has the best right to be heard. [Harnack, (Chron. I, p.657) assumes that Irenaeus derived his notion that Papias was a hearer of some John from Papias' own work; and that Papias only knows of one John, "the Presbyter" for Asia. (p.674)]. The explanation of the passage adopted by Lewis (op. cit. pp.31 f., note) seems to meet the requirements/

requirements. The very fact that Papias makes use of language so open to misinterpretation shows that he had absolutely no thought of any difficulty arising. There was no other John of any note in the Church of Asia, no one at all likely to be confused with the Apostle John. (cf. J.A. Robertson, "The Gospels and the Epistles of St. John", pp. 31 ff.)

Papias was a "companion of Polycarp", and had even been (though perhaps for a brief space only) a "hearer of John" the Apostle (ad. Haer. V 33⁴), - a piece of information that Irenaeus does not profess to derive from Papias' "Expositions" (as Eusebius supposed), but has learned from independent authority. Papias must be regarded as qualified, by his nearness both in place and time to Ephesus at the close of the First Century, as well as his manifest interest in the teaching of the Apostles and the origin of the Gospel, to know something of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel and its connection with the teaching of the Apostle John.

[It must be noted that even if Irenaeus be proved mistaken in his statements about Papias, this will in no way affect the reliability of the evidence derived through Polycarp and Justin. (Cf. Stanton, op. cit. I, 217 ff; Drummond, op. cit. p.209). Papias will simply appear as an industrious collector of apostolic traditions more or less reliable, whose witness must be received with caution, and tested by the acknowledged facts of history. Interpreted as above (and that without any undue strain) the witness of Papias is in agreement with the other sources of the Irenaeus' testimony. Otherwise it is negligible, so far as this study is concerned].

2. The other point of importance in our notice of Papias is the statement ascribed to him by a writer some hundreds of years after Papias' death, to the effect that John the son of Zebedee suffered martyrdom like his brother James. (cf. (1) "De Boor's Fragment" from MS. of Georgio Hamartolos (9th cent.) (2) Late extract, perhaps from Philip of Side (5th or 6th cent.)) This is relied on as the strongest external evidence by those who deny the Apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel. (cf. Schmidel, "The Johannine Writings", Part II Chap. I § 5; &c.) The statement occurs in two writers in somewhat confused form, and in one case admitting the Apostle's Asian residence till the close of the 1st century. The authority is worthless, and is rejected by Harnack (Chron. I 665 f.) Cf. Stanton (op. cit. I, 166 f.) Cf. Loofs, ("What is the truth about Jesus Christ?" p. 103, "Even the most improbable statements of later writers have been believed by some scholars in order to render this tradition suspicious". Cf. Moffatt (op. cit. p.604) - "The excerpts are both late; and the later of the two may be taken from the epitome of Philip, and Philip's reputation as an independent historian is not particularly high".

Cf. Stanton (op. cit. III, p.112) - "probability that both are derived from the same source, Philip of Side, who has been proved to be a bungler".

Cf. Swete (J.T.S. Vol. XVII, p.378) - "precarious to use this piece of evidence".

The supposed corroborative evidence from Mark 10³⁹, and from Church Callendars (Cf. Burkitt "Gospel History &c." pp. 252 - 254; Moffatt op. cit. pp. 602 - 606; Bacon, op. cit. pp. 132 - 151) has been completely disposed of, and need not detain us. If there was anything at all in Papias' "Expositions" that might account for the "de Boor" fragment, it would probably be in the nature of a comment of Papias on the saying of Jesus in Mark 10³⁹. Such a prophecy becomes, in a less spiritual age, a prediction which demands a literal fulfilment. John, as well as James, is to drink of the cup of martyrdom; and so the legend arises, and enters into the tradition of the Church. [Cf. Stanton, (op. cit. III, 112 - 120); Lewis (op. cit. p.30 note) Drummond, (op. cit. p.224); Zahn, (N.T. Intr. III, 205); Armitage Robinson ("The Historical Character of St. John's Gospel", pp.64 ff.); J.A. Robertson, (op. cit. pp.36 f.); Workman, ("Persecution in the Early Church", pp.358 - 361); Kennedy, (Exp. Times, XXIX pp.313 f.) Riggs, (D.C.G. pp.867 ff); Brooke, (Diet. Ap. Ch. p.628)].

Besides, Irenaeus and Eusebius knew nothing of a statement in Papias in any way contradicting their belief that the Apostle John was in Ephesus till the close of the 1st century, and wrote the Fourth Gospel. Whatever the origin of the supposed quotation from Papias, and whatever its real meaning, it cannot have borne the interpretation now put on it. There are several possible explanations of the misunderstanding. Papias does not contradict Irenaeus, nor in any way impair his testimony to the Fourth Gospel. Cf. Bacon (who seems to have inside information! op. cit. p.76) - "Irenaeus was well acquainted with Papias through his single quite modest little work". Cf. p.84. "Both Irenaeus and Eusebius had the little five-chaptered treatise of Papias open before them and would eagerly search every nook and corner of the work".

[Although Papias tells us that ~~he~~ "did not take pleasure in those who have so very much to say", yet the traditions he reported from the Elders, along with his own expositions, must have filled many chapters. Cf. Stanton, op. cit. III, 130. Five "books" (βιβλία) - each a separate roll.]

The more we magnify the knowledge possessed by Irenaeus of Papias' work, the more certain it becomes that it contained nothing whatever inconsistent with Irenaeus' view of "John of Asia" and the Fourth Gospel.

It is suggested (Cf. Moffatt, op. cit. p.618) that Irenaeus ignored the statment regarding the early martyrdom of John because it conflicted with his theory of the Apostle's longevity and residence in Ephesus. There are two decisive objections to this view:- (1) The writings of Papias were published and in the hands of many. The statement, if it occurred, could not be hid; and could not be ignored, but would have to be explained away or answered/

answered in some way. If it stood as is supposed, and were a true account, it would be fatal to the tradition of the Apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel; for though Papias might have referred the Johannine writings to an early date prior to the martyrdom, Irenaeus certainly did not.

(2) The theory mentioned rests on a complete misapprehension of Irenaeus' character and motives. Irenaeus shows the utmost respect for Papias as an authority, and seems willing to accept the latter's statements as thoroughly reliable. If Papias had stated as a fact that John was martyred early (and had therefore no connection with Ephesus and the "Johannine" writings there), Irenaeus would have made very clear that the "John of Asia" behind the Fourth Gospel was not the son of Zebedee.

A Latin argumentum on Papias appears in a 9th century MS. of the Vulgate to the effect that John gave his Gospel to the Church during his lifetime. There is nothing surprising in this statement, when viewed in relation to John 21²⁴. Cf. Zahn, (N.T. Intr. III pp. 178, 248, 250) who holds to the genuineness of the fragment. (Contrast Bacon, op. cit. pp. 76, 84 f., who finds the silence of Irenaeus insuperable, - a thing he had overlooked in connection with the "De Boor" fragment!) The statement may have occurred in Papias, and be the basis of Irenaeus' reference to John's authorship of the Fourth Gospel (Ad. Haer. III 11, Cf. Zahn N.T. Intr. III, 198.) But until further evidence be forthcoming, we cannot claim the statement as actually from Papias. (cf. Harnack, Chron. I, pp. 664 f.).

It is noteworthy, in regard to the testimony of Papias to the Fourth Gospel and its author, that in the passages of Irenaeus where we have seen reason to detect the influence of Papias, there are distinct echoes of the Fourth Gospel. Cf. Ad. Haer. II, 225 f on the Age of Jesus - John 8⁵⁶ f; V 33^{3f}. The Vine and its branches - John 15; V 36^{1f} Paradise and the "many mansions" - John 14²; (cf. V 30¹ - The Apocalypse of John).

So far as we can gather from the scattered hints in Irenaeus' writings, Papias appears to have been familiar with the Fourth Gospel, and to have associated it with the teachings of "John of Asia". (Cf. Harnack, Chron. I, p. 658. on Papias' clear acquaintance with the Fourth Gospel).

Cf. Ad. Haer. II, 22⁵. If the whole passage about "the Elders" be taken from Papias' writings, then Papias himself was familiar with, and accepted as true, the tradition of the residence of John, the disciple of the Lord, in Asia, and its continuance till the times of Trajan. If we are debarred from declaring with certainty that he meant the Apostle John, we are at any rate compelled to acknowledge the "extraordinarily high place given by Papias and his authorities .. to John, the disciple of the Lord". (Kennedy, Exp. Times, XLIX, p. 236.) The witness of Papias is perfectly consistent with that of/

of Polycarp and Justin.

In discussing the "Presbyter" testimony in Irenaeus we are faced with the question, "Does Irenaeus ascribe a higher authority to Scripture or to Apostolic tradition?"

Lewis (op. cit. pp. 54 f.) makes emphatic assertions that Irenaeus regarded the authority of the oral tradition as superior to that of the written record. In this he aims at bringing out the strength and magnitude of the oral tradition in which Irenaeus lived; to show how close and vital were the relations between the 1st and 2nd centuries, and prove that Irenaeus gives a true and accurate account of matters at the beginning of the 2nd century. His authorities are competent and reliable, and therefore his witness is true.

Curiously enough Montgomery Hitchcock comes to a directly opposite conclusion in considering Irenaeus' relation to Scripture and to tradition. He asserts that for Irenaeus the authority of the Gospels comes first, while that of tradition holds a secondary place. Cf. "Irenaeus of Lugdunum", p. 197. "He is careful to put the gospel before the tradition The Scriptures were then his chief authority and test of truth". (Cf. Gregory, "Canon &c." p. 153. "Irenaeus' high appreciation of Scripture").

The truth is that Irenaeus expresses a preference for neither above the other. For him there is no question of conflicting or rival authorities, no disagreement between Scripture and the oral tradition. Both are authoritative, and to both he appeals. It is safe to affirm, however, that he would have rejected any tradition that contradicted the express statements of Scripture. This may be claimed from the fact that he appeals to no such tradition; if he met with such, he ignored it. [We have already discussed the one apparent exception in Ad. Haer. II 225, f. See above, pp. 5-7] ~~For~~ For Irenaeus the written and the oral testimony are one. The latter may supplement the former, but not supersede or confute it. We need only point in confirmation to the Scriptural basis of "Ad. Haer.", and to the express statements of Irenaeus himself. Cf. Ad. Haer. III 4¹. "For how should it be if the apostles themselves had not left us writings? Would it not be necessary, (in that case) to follow the course of the tradition which they handed down to those to whom they did commit the churches?" Cf. III 5¹. "Since, therefore, the tradition from the apostles does thus exist in the church, and is permanent among us, let us revert to/

to the scriptural proof furnished by those apostles who did also write the Gospel".

Irenaeus appeals so frequently to the tradition of the "Presbyters" not as superior to Scripture, but as supplementing it; not as an independent and more authoritative witness, but as at times fuller and more detailed in its account; but always consistent with the written record of Holy Scripture, the ultimate authority.

Apart altogether from his opinion of Scriptural authority, Irenaeus does rate the tradition of the Church derived from Apostles as of the highest value. He is in the full tide of it; in touch with men on every side who have learned from disciples of Apostles. The general consensus of their teaching, and its agreement with Scripture, guarantee its truth. Specially in a matter like the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, there seems no room for misunderstanding or error.

Such then are the main sources from which Irenaeus has derived his knowledge of the Fourth Gospel and its author. Through his acquaintance with the persons or writings of Polycarp, Justin, Papias, Pothinus, and other unnamed "Presbyters", he possesses trustworthy and adequate knowledge of the Gospel origins.

His authorities are witnesses of the highest value; and the traditions, opinions, and beliefs he has received from them are pre-eminently trustworthy.

IV. THE WEIGHT OF THE TESTIMONY.

In order to form a correct estimate of the full weight and strength of the Irenaeus' testimony to the Fourth Gospel, we must take account not only of the writings of Irenaeus and of the sources on which he relies for his knowledge of affairs in Asia at the close of the 1st century; but further we must give some consideration also to the views and statements of his contemporaries, and note how his witness is supported and confirmed by that of other authorities, or whether it be qualified and modified or even contradicted by the evidence of those who have a right to be heard as well.

Such an examination shows us that Irenaeus was not ~~just~~ a solitary witness, but representative of his age.

1. The Church. -

For one thing he was himself something of a traveller and was personally in contact with affairs in Asia, in Rome, and in Gaul. Cf. Harnack, H.D. p.27, note 2.; p.152. "Irenaeus had the closest connection with the Church in Rome, as is proved by his great work, and that he lived there before he came to Gaul". Cf. Montgomery Hitchcock, "Irenaeus of Lugdunum", pp. 2 ff.

Again, he communicated freely with all the Churches, and claimed to be ~~voicing~~ the accepted beliefs of the general body of Christians. He repeatedly refers to the unanimity of Church tradition, and emphasizes the fact that he is only declaring what is the approved testimony of the whole Church. Cf. Ad. Haer. I 101, 2., III Pref., III 22, 31,2,3,4., 41,2., 51, 125,7., IV 265, 33⁸, V 20¹.

Moreover, his work, as he indicates, was not for private reading only; and the statements he makes will be open to the inspection of Christians everywhere, and therefore liable to criticism and challenge if untrue. Cf. Ad. Haer. III 6⁴, 121¹, 17⁴, V Pref. He takes for granted that all who read will agree with his account of Church history and tradition. Cf. Letters to Florus and to Victor.

When we come to investigate the evidence afforded by other Christian writers of the 2nd century, we find that Irenaeus was justified in his confident expectation; for although in several cases the references to the Fourth Gospel and to its author are but meagre and indefinite, yet in a general way the testimony is unanimous to the truth of the tradition connecting the Fourth Gospel with Asia and the Apostle John's ministry there. The following/

following are important witnesses representative of the whole Church:-

- (1) Melite of Sardis. (c.170) Quotes Fourth Gospel as Scripture. Cf. Westcott, Canon, pp.200 ff.; Lightfoot B.E., pp.72-74.
- (2) Claudius Apollinaris, Bishop of Hierapolis (after Papias) c.180. Gives the Fourth Gospel an equal rank and authority with the Synoptics. Cf. Westcott, Canon, p.206; Lightfoot, B.E., pp.74 f.; Schmiedel, "The Johannine Writings", Part II, Chap. 1, § 16.
- (3) Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus (c.190) - Contemporary of Irenaeus, but not dependent on him. - relies on the tradition of the Church in Ephesus. Cf. His letter (Eus. H.E. V 24^{2,3}, written c.195 with approval of other bishops, contains strong evidence of the Apostle John's connection with Ephesus. Bacon (op. cit. pp.263 f.) remarks that "the bare mention of John at Ephesus is tacked on like an afterthought". But Polycrates might think the circumstances of John too well known to need mentioning - an allusion would suffice. Cf. Drummond, op. cit. pp.209 ff; Stanton "Gospels &c." I, pp.228-232; Kennedy, Exp Times, XXIX, pp.237 f.
- (4) Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch (c.180) - Ascribes the Fourth Gospel to John, whom he calls "one of the inspired", a description which seems to point to the Apostle. Cf. Westcott, Canon, p.207; Lightfoot, B.E. pp.83 ff; Drummond, op. cit. p.75.
- (5) Clement of Alexandria (c.190) - far-travelled, broad-minded, carefully-informed writer - knows no doubt on the subject of John's authorship of the Fourth Gospel. Cf. Lightfoot, B.E. p.93; Drummond, op. cit. p.212; Stanton, op. cit. I 233.
- (6) Muratorian Fragment - connected with Roman Church - dated by Lightfoot (B.E. p.98) c.170; by Bacon (op. cit. p.240) "not later than 185"; by others c.200. - Testifies to the fact that the Gospel was believed to be the work of John the Apostle. Cf. Westcott, Canon, pp.190 ff; Lightfoot, B.E. pp.97 - 100; Drummond, op. cit. pp. 75 - 79.

- (7) Tertullian of Carthage - at close of 2nd century - witnesses to an unbroken and unhesitating tradition of the Apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel. Cf. Drummond, op. cit. p.74.

Some of the above writers merely quote the Fourth Gospel as Scripture and on a level with the other Gospels, but with no references to its author. Yet their witness is in perfect accord with the tradition of its "Johannine" origin. Others make definite statements regarding John the Apostle or the writing of the Fourth Gospel which corroborate the position of Irenaeus in the matter. And these are all independent witnesses who did not derive their account of Early Church affairs from Irenaeus - (whatever may be said about the received testimony of the Church in the 3rd century.)

All the evidence points to the fact that everywhere the Church tradition was at one in regard to the origin of the Fourth Gospel - Asia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, Rome, Gaul - The belief and testimony are general, and the tradition unanimous. Cf. Zahn, N.T. Intr. III, pp. 180, 199 note 10; Drummond, op. cit. p.80; Strachan, D.C.G., pp.870 - 877.

2. The Heretics.

Not only have we the testimony of the orthodox Churchmen, but we have the evidence derived from the writings of their opponents as well, especially of the great Gnostic schools of the 2nd century. Their attitude towards the Fourth Gospel and their views of its origin, so far as we are able to gather them, are in full agreement with those of the Church writers. Cf. Lightfoot, B.E. pp.104 - 115; Drummond, op. cit. Chaps. VIII - XI.

The Valentinians for example are freely quoted by Irenaeus (Cf. Ad. Haer. I 8, I 9, &c.) - and no doubt with accuracy - as basing their doctrines on the Fourth Gospel and on the authority of the Apostle John, its author. We may not affirm that Irenaeus is quoting from the works of Valentinus himself, the founder of the school, whose witness would go back to the early part of the 2nd century; but it is by no means improbable that the respect paid by the followers of Valentinus to the Fourth Gospel is due to the opinion of their master himself. Cf. Tertullian's remark (De Praes. Haer. 38) that the master himself used "the whole instrument". Cf. Drummond, op. cit. pp.273, 281; Zahn, N.T. Intr. III 176; Stanton, "Gospels" I 69, 159; Swete, J.T.S. XVII p.375.

Again, the other Gnostic school of Basilides accepted the Fourth Gospel as by the Apostle John; and in their case it would seem that Basilides (c.130) the founder of their school, an earlier contemporary of Valentinus, shared this view and gave expression to it in his writings. The quotations in Irenaeus are not certainly from Basilides himself, but there is a strong likelihood that Hippolytus has preserved for us the actual words of/

of Basilides, and that ~~these~~ show his use of and respect for the authority of the Fourth Gospel. Cf. Lightfoot, B.E. pp.108 ff; Drummond, op. cit. p.331; Stanton, op. cit. I, pp.65 - 69.

Even when the Apostle John is not named as the writer of the Gospel, at least there is no other author mentioned or suggested. The general testimony of the heretical writers is in full agreement with that of the orthodox Churchmen. The belief was unchallenged. Cf. Stanton, ("Gospels" III pp.234 ff.) on the three parties whose interest it was to refute it. (1) Gnostics. (2) Quartodecimans. (3) "Alogi".

There are two apparent (but not real) exceptions to which reference must be made: (1) Marcion, who rejected the Gospel, - as he rejected other parts of Scripture which would not fit in with his scheme of doctrine, - on the ground that it was written by a Jew (a disciple of Jesus). He may not unfairly be regarded as a witness to the truth of the traditional account of the Gospel's origin. Cf. Drummond, op. cit. p.295.

(2) A few individuals are referred to by Irenaeus (Ad. Haer. III 11⁹) as setting aside John's Gospel which contained the promise of the Paraclete (John 14¹⁶, &c.) These were not really heretics but Churchmen whose condemnation of the followers of Montanus led them to reject the portions of Scripture which seemed to give special support to the Montanist doctrine. They rejected the Gospel on dogmatic grounds, but made no objection to the ascription of it to John as author.

[The "Alogi" of Epiphanius, - who are said by him to have ascribed the Fourth Gospel (and the Apocalypse) to Carinthus, - belong to a later generation than Irenaeus; and if their witness is to be accounted of any importance, it takes the origin of the Fourth Gospel back to the times of the Apostle John and to the place traditionally associated with his later life. Epiphanius observes that "they know that he - the alleged John - belonged to the number of the apostles". Cf. Zahn, N.T. Introd. III p.200, n.11; Harnack, Chron. I p.379; Drummond, op. cit. pp.73,341; Lewis, op. cit. p.39, note 2; Watkins, Bampton Lectures 1890, pp.123 - 127; Stanton, "Gospels &c." III pp.124 ff; Church Quarterly Review, Vol. LX, p.891].

Our brief survey of contemporary evidence, both orthodox and heretic, has shown the remarkable unanimity of opinion in regard to the Fourth Gospel among all the writers of the latter half of the 2nd century. All who could possibly know are of one mind and one view. The witness is universal. The testimony of Irenaeus that the Fourth Gospel rests on the authority of the son of Zebedee is in effect the testimony of the whole Church.

(Cf. Fisher, "Beginnings of Christianity" pp.325, 330-336.)

V. THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE TESTIMONY.

That the Apostle John wrote the Fourth Gospel is the witness of Irenaeus and of the whole Church in the 2nd century - a witness that goes back to the publication of the Gospel. Yet there are certain things which seem to conflict with this evidence, or at least to render its acceptance less easy. These difficulties concern both the External and the Internal evidence for the Gospel.

I. External. The question of conflicting testimony in the Church has already been dealt with, and the supposed adverse testimony of the "de Boor" fragment and of the "Alogi" has been disposed of. There remains for some minds a difficulty in connection with the late attestation of the Gospel.

In reply to this we may point to the nature and the scantiness of extant writings from the period in question. How few are the writings which we possess from the first half of the 2nd century prior to Tatian, the first undisputed witness; and such works as have come down to us are mainly of an apologetic character, and not such as lend themselves to quotations from the Gospels. (Cf. "The Demonstration of Apostolic Preaching".) There are, moreover, possible references to or quotations from the Gospel in these writings; and they afford confirmatory evidence towards attestation. Cf. Stanton, ("Gospels &c." I, p.21) "The decision between alternative explanations must come, if it is to come at all, from the position which the Gospel holds and the strength of the tradition in its favour, which we shall observe later. These may render it highly probable that the correspondence with its thought and language in the very early writings which we have now been considering should be put to the account of its use".

That early evidence for the authorship of the Fourth Gospel is scanty is due to the fact that there was no controversy in the matter, no problem to solve, nothing to discuss or lay stress on. The Johannine and Apostolic authorship was a universally acknowledged fact; and, since everybody knew, there was no need of argument or affirmation.

The Fourth Gospel is a generation later than the Synoptics. The latter were recognised as authoritative in the Church by the time John's Gospel was published. There were three accepted Gospels; and a fourth could only have been placed on a level with the others if its authority were at once absolute and unquestioned. The Apostolic authorship, real or assumed, is the ground of acceptance. When the evidence for attestation is fairly considered, there is really no more difficulty than in the case of the Synoptics. Cf. Stanton, (op. cit. I p.17) "It (St./

(St. Matthew) is, indeed, the only one of the Synoptic Gospels, the signs of the use of which in the Sub-Apostolic Age are really impressive".

Cf. Bacon, (op. cit. p.225) - "an element of such profound and far-reaching importance as a hitherto unknown, or at least unemployed gospel, so different in character from those already current in the Church, so superlative in its claims to apostolic authority, could not be interjected into the developing life and strife of the infant faith without some degree of commotion". And so Bacon proceeds to depict the "Battle for Recognition of Asian Tradition at Rome", and to stir up the commotion his theory requires, by rough-handling the witnesses and playing with the evidence. That no such strife or commotion occurred in the Church of the 2nd century is proof of the Apostolic character and authority of the Fourth Gospel.

Another difficulty may be found in the fact that the Irenaeus' testimony applies equally to all the "Johannine" writings. It is certainly not easy to hold that the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse are by the same writer. But the testimony may be sufficiently vindicated, and the conflicting views reconciled, if it be granted that the Apostle John, the Witness behind the Fourth Gospel, is also the Seer of the Apocalypse. Editorial revision may account for the difference. Cf. Stanton (op. cit. III p.82) - "Obviously the differences between the two writings do not weigh to the same extent, or it may be at all, against an identity, not of authorship, but only of the principal seer whose visions were recorded in the Apocalypse with the revered teacher whose testimony and instruction were made use of in the composition of the Gospel by a disciple, a different man from the editor of the Apocalypse".

2. Internal. The external evidence for the Apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel is of the strongest character, unbroken, unchallenged, universal, - and is therefore entitled to acceptance, unless the Gospel itself contains characteristics such as make Apostolic authorship impossible or open to grave doubt. (cf. Stanton, op. cit. III p.2; Church Quarterly Review, Vol. LX, p.86.)

Garvie ("The Beloved Disciple" - Chap.X.) comes to the external evidence with his preconceived theory of the Gospel's origin, derived from his view of the internal evidence (p.202). Hence he forces the external evidence into agreement with his position. Cf. p.252 "Tradition need not block our way, if so understood, to determine the question on internal evidence".

Nothing could block the way, if so treated! The better way is to test the verdict of the external evidence by the Gospel itself. Is the traditional Apostolic authorship an impossibility? There is a very great deal in the internal evidence to support the/

the view that the author was the son of Zebedee. (cf. Lightfoot, B.E. I & III. Westcott, "Fourth Gospel", Intr. pp.V - XXVIII; Sanday, "Criticism of the Fourth Gospel"; Dods, Exp. Gk. Test. Introd.; Robertson, "Gospel and Epistles &c." pp.39 ff.; Strachan, D.C.G., pp.877 - 881; &c.)

But on the other hand there are difficulties here also which must be taken into account in forming a final judgment. The consideration of these is of course outside the scope of the present essay; but we may indicate possible ways of their removal through various theories of the composition or publication of the Gospel, e.g. Strachan's account of the construction of the Gospel, and editorial revision. (Cf. "The Fourth Gospel", pp.54 - 59); Garvie's threefold treatment, - "Witness", "Evangelist", "Redactor". (cf. op. cit. p.202, &c.); or Burton's theory of the original issue of the Gospel in the form of "Booklets". (cf. Lewis, op. cit. pp.6, 35 ff., 61 f.)

Many of the difficulties may be overcome or removed in some such way as this, and leave it possible for us to accept as true the verdict of the external evidence and the unanimous tradition of the Early Church, - at least in so far as it claims that in some way or other the authority behind the Fourth Gospel is John the Apostle, the son of Zebedee.

To take a modern illustration: A volume of sermons was published lately under the title "Lord, teach us to pray", - of which the writer of the preface says, "Nobody else could have preached these sermons, - after much reading and re-reading of them that remains the most vivid impression: there can be few more strongly personal documents in the whole literature of the pulpit. Of course, his favourites appear - Dante and Pascal, Butler and Andrewes, Bunyan and Edwards: they contribute their gift of illustration or enforcement, and fade away. But these pages are Alexander Whyte: the glow and radiance of them came out of that flaming heart. Those who knew and loved him well welcome the autobiographic touches".

Had the above volume of sermons been published anonymously hundreds of people would have vouched for the author being Dr. Whyte. Many had heard the sermons or some of them preached. Many others knew the man and his style. With perfect certainty the Church would have accepted the volume as from Dr. Whyte.

So with the Fourth Gospel - however it was published. Many had heard John preach, and utter the very things it contained. Far and wide throughout the Church it was speedily recognised as containing the well-known teaching of the Apostle John; and accepted universally and without controversy. The testimony of the Appendix was scarcely necessary.

Some disparage John the son of Zebedee as the "Galilean fisherman", as if his were a mind incapable of development. (cf. Schmiedel, op. cit. Pt.II Ch.1, § 11; Bacon, op. cit. p.68; Garvie/

Garvie, op. cit. p.209). But does all we learn from the Synoptics and Acts about John the son of Zebedee entitle us to pronounce him as devoid of mental and spiritual power and capacity? We must remember that the growth here is spiritual, and not primarily intellectual or philosophical. The heights and the depths of the Fourth Gospel may be reached by the soul in communion with Christ. Who can measure the working of the Holy Spirit, whether with Galilean fishermen or Bedford tinker? (cf. Strachan, "The Fourth Gospel", p.61; Robertson, "Gospel and Epistles &c." pp.50 f.).

Garvie describes the "witness" behind the Fourth Gospel as a Judean disciple of Jesus (but not the son of Zebedee), and he refers (op. cit. p.104) to "his passionate devotion to his Master, and his no less vehement indignation against his Master's enemies". What better description could we have of the "Boanerges" of the Synoptic Gospels?

[Garvie thinks the "Evangelist" was John the Presbyter (a disciple of the "Witness", even as Mark was of Peter (op. cit. p.202); and he further adopts Stanton's description of him as a youth or boy who had seen Jesus, and had later come to Ephesus (op. cit. p.219). That is, the "Witness" and the "Evangelist", together at Ephesus in later life, had both been in contact with Jesus in Palestine. It is curious how ready some scholars are to admit the presence of personal followers of Jesus in Asia till near the close of the 1st century. They will provide transport for any number of disciples from Jerusalem to Ephesus; give free passage even to members of the Apostolic circle. In one case only is there total prohibition - "No Boanerges need apply"!].

The relations of the "beloved disciple" with the high priest, and the first-hand reports of the trial of Jesus, are things that require explanation. But we have no right to assume that some connection with the priestly authorities in Jerusalem was impossible in the case of the son of Zebedee. The information given in Acts 6⁷ that "a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith", may indicate a source of knowledge available for the Apostles. (cf. Robertson, op. cit. p.51)

Other difficulties remain, on any theory of the Gospel's origin, e.g. The "cohort" of soldiers (John 18³); or the story of Lazarus (which may be symbolical - the Life-giver condemned to death - because He gave life) (cf. Kennedy, Exp. Times XXIX, p.103)

But there are no impossibilities. The internal evidence is compatible with the external witness that the teaching of the Fourth Gospel rests on the authority of the Apostle John; and this view is entitled to our acceptance.

VI.

THE VALUE OF THE TESTIMONY.

We have now completed our survey of the testimony of Irenaeus to the Fourth Gospel; and in the course of our investigation we have sought to bring out the worth of the evidence and to set it in the clearest and most unmistakable light. It only remains for us now to sum up the results of our study, and complete our estimate of the value of the Irenaeus' testimony.

We have seen that Irenaeus possessed the Fourth Gospel complete in its present form; and that he knew it only as the work of the Apostle John. This belief he shared in common with all his contemporaries; and it represents the universal opinion of the Church, - a wide spread tradition capable of being traced back through many distinct channels to its ultimate authoritative source. In the case of Irenaeus, his information is derived from his predecessors, who were either (as Polycarp) personally acquainted with the facts, or else were in close touch with the leading Christians of Ephesus at the beginning of the 2nd century. The originators of the tradition had full and accurate knowledge, and their account of matters is reliable and trustworthy.

The evidence in support of the testimony of Irenaeus is, as we have seen, of overwhelming character; and there is nothing of any consequence to be set against it. There is really no counter-tradition in the field, nothing to suggest a single doubt on the matter, no whisper of adverse criticism, until the character of the Gospel itself began to stir doubts in the minds of those who found its teachings at variance with their own peculiar doctrines, and who on that account were desirous of undermining its authority. The traditions of the Apostle John's residence in Asia till near the close of the 1st century, and of his teaching about Christ as forming the substance of what was published in the Fourth Gospel, are in themselves perfectly credible; and this account of the Gospel's origin gives by far the simplest and most natural explanation of all the factors concerned. Without any tampering with the facts or straining of the evidence we have vindicated the truth of the traditional account of the authorship and origin of the Fourth Gospel, as embodied in the writings of Irenaeus.

It is still true that the main reason for denying the Apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel is dogmatic. When it becomes clearer that the origin of the Gospel, while no doubt a matter of great interest, is of secondary importance and not vital to the faith, - that the question of the Divinity of Christ, for example, is not bound up with the question of the Apostolic authorship/

authorship of this or that Gospel - the matter will be less keenly disputed; and the result will probably be seen in a readier acceptance of the external evidence and a waning desire to question its worth. Mere literary criticism, unreinforced by dogmatic bias, would never have striven to any great extent to weaken or destroy the traditional account of the Fourth Gospel. But the opposition has been fraught with good results, in that it has called forth during the last half century, a fuller and more reliable investigation of all the facts of the case, which, while bringing to light much that is of real interest in the history of the Early Church, has also led to a vindication of the traditional account of the Gospel's origin. (Cf. Raven, "What think ye of Christ"? pp. 123 - 125; Stevens, Theology of N.T. pp. 169 ff.)

To defend the truth of the Irenaeus' testimony to the Fourth Gospel does not mean that we maintain the view that the Gospel as it stands was actually written by the Apostle John. What is asserted in the testimony, and proved by all the available evidence, is that the teaching of the Apostle John at Ephesus forms the substance of the Gospel. (Cf. Harnack, Chron. I p. 677. Beyond question, in some way or other, John, son of Zebedee, stands behind the Fourth Gospel.) How much or how little of it he wrote himself; what part he took, if any, in the actual publication; the nature and extent of his disciples' share in the work, - these are separate questions and may be impossible to settle.

"Historicity" may be of different degrees. Cf. Stanton, "Gospels &c." III, p. 6. "In maintaining that the Fourth Gospel was not composed by the Apostle John, but by a disciple of his, Weizacker only reduces it to the same level as these others. It is true that the views of the author of the Fourth Gospel, and other circumstances, have left a mark upon its form and contents far exceeding the effect of any such influences in the case of the other Gospels".

Mark and Luke were personages mentioned in Scripture, held in honoured remembrance among Christians as fellow-labourers with the Apostle Paul, and therefore not unworthy to have their names attached to Gospels. On the supposition of a similar origin for the Fourth Gospel, its "author" (who wrote up the Memoirs of the Apostle John) was not an "apostolic" character. He would not be widely known in the Churches; his name would carry little weight, and would seem be forgotten. Perhaps it was "John", and so lent itself to the confusion so dear to some critics!

It would be difficult to name a more beautiful and arresting, and at the same time a more natural and probable account of the origin of the Fourth Gospel than that which is given in brief compass by Prof. J.A. Robertson ("The Gospel and the Epistles of St. John". Chap. III "The Witness and his Testimony"), who brings us, as it were, into the very presence of the aged Apostle John at Ephesus, and to the creating of his Gospel, the fruit of a life-long/

long meditation on that wondrous Ministry in Galilee and Judaea, and an ever-deepening communion with the Risen Christ. (Cf. Bruce, "Apologetics" pp.471, 492; J. Armitage Robinson, "The Study of the Gospels", pp.147 - 157; Bartlet, "The Apostolic Age", pp.438 f.)

Conclusion.

"If the external evidence alone is to be regarded, there seems to be no doubt to the Writer that, as Dr. Kennedy holds, the evidence of Irenaeus must be preferred to any other" (Garvie, "The Beloved Disciple", p.217)

"Whoever mistakes the evidence of Irenaeus is likely to mistake the wider problem too". (Gwatkin, Cont. Review, Feb. 1897, p. 226).

Such is the verdict of the majority of scholars who have made a study of the external evidence for the Fourth Gospel, whether they favour or reject the Apostolic authorship. Everywhere the testimony of Irenaeus is acknowledged to be of the highest importance; and we have endeavoured in these pages to emphasize its value and to show also that it is worthy of all acceptance.
